HOW AND WHY PATRONS OF THE ARTS USED MUSIC AS A FORM OF POLITICAL CURRENCY FROM 1780 TO 1800

Mark Joseph Sciuchetti Jr.

COLUMBUS STATE UNIVERSITY

HOW AND WHY PATRONS OF THE ARTS USED MUSIC AS A FORM OF POLITICAL

CURRENCY FROM 1780 TO 1800.

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO

THE COLLEGE OF LETTERS AND SCIENCE

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF

THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTERS OF ARTS

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY

BY

MARK J. SCIUCHETTI JR.

COLUMBUS, GEORGIA

2015

HOW AND WHY PATRONS OF THE ARTS USED MUSIC AS A FORM OF POLITICAL CURRENCY FROM 1780 TO 1800.

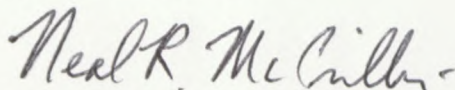By

Mark J. Sciuchetti Jr.

Committee Chair:

Dr. Neal McCrillis

Committee Members:

Dr. Jim Owen

Dr. John Ellisor

Signature Page Approved:

Neal R. McCrillis

Committee Chair
Columbus State University
April 2015

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this research is to examine the developing use of music as political currency in the late eighteenth century. Why did patrons of the arts use music as a form of political currency? Political leaders, such as the Duke of Leeds, began to present public concerts in the late eighteenth century for political purposes. A focus on the elites of British society and their continued use of cultural productions provides an understanding of an increased cultural unity of the British Isles. Concerts were given throughout London under the direction of influential members of the House of Lords. The Duke of Leeds presented multiple concerts throughout London to persuade colleagues and strengthen his relationship with other Lords in Parliament. Furthermore, his use of cultural productions strengthened his position in Parliament. This study contributes to the larger understanding of the continued unification in Britain during the late eighteenth century, a time of tremendous cultural, social, and political certainty. In addition, the study redresses the tendency to focus on the growing power of the House of Commons by demonstrating the continued importance of the House of Lords.

INDEX WORDS: Britain, Eighteenth Century, Music, Politics, Arts, Political Currency

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The process of research and writing for this project has been a long and arduous endeavor. I owe a great amount of thanks to those who were willing to continue to assist me while on this journey. First, I would like to thank Rachael Cofield and Clara Ye for reading my thesis over and over and providing insightful comments and suggestions. I would also like to thank the librarians at the Marian K. Heilbrun Music Library at Emory University and Judith Moore from the Columbus State University Music Library, who was always there for me through ordering books. I am indebted to all those who have supported me throughout my college career including my mother, Kristen Sciuchetti and my grandmother, Sandra Edman, who always encouraged me to continue and supported my endeavors, including my semester at Oxford, England. I would also like to show my gratitude to Dr. Steven Gill, who caught me when I was still conceptualizing a topic and helped me to narrow my path. Finally, I would like to thank my advisor, Dr. Neal McCrillis, who has been a great supporter and professor throughout my time at Columbus State University and my reader Dr. Jim Owen, for all their helpful suggestions and encouraging shoves to "just keep writing," thank you.

NOTES ON SPELLINGS

In regard for a modern audience and an effort to deal with the various forms of spellings from original texts and the changes based on policies adopted by various editors, the spellings from quotations of primary source documents have been modernized and the standard abbreviated forms have been expanded throughout except where words lacking a modern equivalent.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

HOW AND WHY PATRONS OF THE ARTS USED MUSIC AS A FORM OF POLITICAL

CURRENCY FROM 1780 TO1800.

A thesis submitted to the College of Letters and Science in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY

by
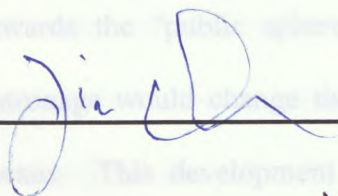
Mark J. Sciuchetti Jr.
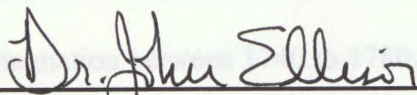
2015

_____
Dr. Neal McCrillis, Chair
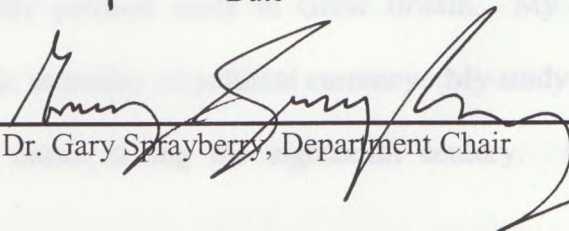
_____
Dr. Jim Owen, Member

_____
Dr. John Ellisor, Graduate Coordinator

_____
April 17, 2015
Date

_____
Dr. Gary Sprayberry, Department Chair

INTRODUCTION

In Great Britain during the eighteenth century there existed a system of patronage of the arts for the use as political currency. This system experienced a shift in the early part of the eighteenth century. The form and reasons for artistic patronages changed as political and cultural trends shifted in this "long" eighteenth century. Prior to the development of the "public sphere" in Great Britain, patrons of the arts used music to emphasize their power and authority.[1] Music was applied as a means to showcase the grandeur of the nobility and their distinction from others in society. In the eighteenth century, the movement toward the "public sphere" and the consolidation of power in Britain led to a shift in the use of music as the nobility sought personal displays of wealth. Music as a cultural production no longer existed as a luxurious pastime for patrons, but was employed as a type of currency. Patrons could no longer afford to support the cultural production of music as a display of their wealth, but instead utilized it to cultivate political support. Musicians as well began to look away from the old system of patronage and towards the "public sphere" for support and patronage. This alteration in the system of patronage would change the cultural production of music to a form of currency for political means. This development followed the transformations in politics, culture, and identity in Britain after a period of stagnation between 1740 to 1780.

My project will challenge the idea that noble and royal patronage began to wane after the early eighteenth century, by viewing the royal patronage of music as a form of political currency used to establish and solidify political unity in Great Britain. My work explores culture, patronage, politics, and music as modes of political currency. My study focuses on the Duke of Leeds and his support of music during the eighteenth century. Examining the shifting

---

[1] T.C. Blanning, *The Culture of Power and the Power of Culture: Old Regime Europe 1660-1789,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

atmosphere of culture, politics, and identity, in conjunction with Leeds' endeavors as a patron gives a sense of how music was used as political currency and for political ends. Furthermore, I consider how patronage of music was not limited to the aristocracy, but also spread across British society as a means to cultivate British identity, which also supported Leeds' political agenda. I therefore explore the connections that were made by those who sponsored musical events and those who attended concerts. As I show, patronage of music was a method for achieving political consensus during the eighteenth century.

The purpose of this research is to examine the developing use of music as political currency in the late eighteenth century. Why did patrons of the arts use music as a form of political currency? Political leaders, such as the Duke of Leeds, began offering public concerts in the late eighteenth century for political purposes. A focus on the elites of British society and their continued use of cultural productions provides an understanding of a strengthened unification of the British Isles. Concerts were given throughout London under the direction of influential members of the House of Lords. The Duke of Leeds presented multiple concerts throughout London to persuade and strengthen his relationship with other Lords in Parliament. To strengthen his political position in Parliament, Leeds used cultural productions as a connector between influential political members and the desire of many in society to cultivate an identity. Many of Leeds' efforts connected to his political positions that he carried in the House of Lords. Often, the music that he chose to provide held a connection to issues in society. The Duke of Leeds, a prominent political figure, also used music as political currency to strengthen the political unity of the country. This study contributes to the larger understanding of the continued unification in Britain in the late eighteenth century and the development of culture and politics through music as a means to power and the growth of British identity.

There has been a great deal of scholarly work focused on the political structure of the eighteenth century and even more on the music of the time. However, few scholars have discussed the development of society through the lens of music or even the use of patronage for political unity. In the late 1700s, patronage in Britain was growing, albeit in a new form to accommodate the growth and development in society. Placing the political center of England and the Duke of Leeds in this context provides another description of how patronage developed in the eighteenth century and helped to solidify and grow the new cultural sphere that developed in this time. The majority of academic literature on the eighteenth century has developed around the ideas of societal changes. According to T.C. Blanning, during the 1700s a new "cultural space developed," which challenged the ruling order of Europe.[2] At this time, there was also a continuation of monarchical authority centered on the courts, which persisted alongside the emergence of the "public sphere." This development provides a nice framework to the development in British society, but does not discuss the culture of the court as it developed along with the "public sphere," or the evolution of music.

The development of the "public sphere" as understood by historians has changed over the course of the last fifty years. Jurgen Habermas' analysis of the "public sphere" provides a closer analysis of the bourgeoisie class (those of the court) to allow for a greater understanding of the transition of state authority.[3] According to Habermas, the transition of power occurred where the bourgeoisie replaced a "'public sphere' in which the ruler's power was merely represented *before* the people with a sphere in which state authority was publicly monitored through informal and critical discourse *by* the people."[4] Habermas' explanation of the "public sphere" outlines its

---

[2] Blanning, *The Culture of Power and the Power of Culture*, 2.
[3] Jurgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Publix Sphere,* Trans. By Thomas Burger, (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1989), 5-6.
[4] Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, xi.

development and the economic transitions that transpired in the late eighteenth century. Like many historians before him, Habermas traces only the transformation of power and not the varying cultural aspects that influenced and shaped society.[5]

The transition of power in eighteenth century Britain provides context to understanding the movement of political patronage from the home and court to the public. Analysis of concert programs displays the transition to a public form of political patronage utilized for the political gains of those in government. The work done by such historians as Habermas, Blanning, and Brunner will provide the necessary background and understanding to the social development in Britain prior to 1800.

In *English Society 1688-1832: Ideology, Social Structure and Political Practice during the Ancien Regime*, J.C.D. Clark provided a wholly different interpretation of the changing political structure of the eighteenth century. According to Clark, there existed a "high-political crisis in England in the 1750s," which was further developed by religion.[6] This was one of the first historical interpretations to take into consideration aspects of society outside of economics or politics. Clark stated that "material life is [not] at the root of everything"; aspects such as religion are at play, which do not have to revolve around the Industrial Revolution.[7] Clark's study looked at the development of the working-class, William Pitt's "new Toryism," and religion as part of the political theology appropriate to the Church-State in England. By examining political developments in the eighteenth century, Clark argued that the generalized social histories of the 1960s placed the Industrial Revolution as the driving entity behind the

---

[5] See also; Otto Brunner, *Land and Lordship: Structures of Governance in Medieval Austria,* Trans. By Howard Kaminsky and James Van Horn Melton, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992).
[6] J.C.D. Clark, *English Society 1688-1832: Ideology, Social Structure and Political Practice during the Ancien Regime,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), ix.
[7] Clark, *English Society 1688-1832,* 4; Patrick Collinson, Anthony Fletcher, and Peter Roberts, *Religion, Culture, and Society in Early Modern Britain: Essays in Honour of Patrick Collinson,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

English antient regime.[8] The developing interpretations of British politics and society from the 1980s provided an argument that these changes were caused by economic, political, religious, and even social phenomenon. This study builds on this literature by examining the growing use of music as a force for changing and supporting the changing political and societal structure of Britain in the late eighteenth century.

Many historians' works have focused on social development and even patronage, but not the development of political patronage along with the development of music in the eighteenth century. Musicologists have filled this gap by looking at the development of antient music in the 1750s and its importance to the identity of Britain. Antient music was the idea of employing the music of composers of the previous thirty years, including Handel, in an effort to connect to the great British composers of the past. Many felt the need for this effort of connecting with the past because there had not been a great British composer such as Mozart on the continent during the late eighteenth century. William Weber focused on the development of the idea of "antient music" as it first appeared in the 1760s. This period was a time of development of a corpus of works studied in England ranging from Tallis to Handel.[9] Weber, along with many musicologists, argued that the movement for antient music "sprang from a moral reaction against luxury and fashion, against the excesses seen in new habits of consumption."[10] This explanation of the development shows a social change in British culture, but does not place it into the context of the political change that developed simultaneously. During the progression of antient music

---

[8] Clark, *English Society 1688-1832*, 6-7; For more on the Whig interpretation of History see also; Sir Herbert Buterfield, *The Whig Interpretation of History*, (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1965); Basil Williams, *The Whig Supremacy, 1714-1760*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962); Lewis Namier, *England in the Age of the American Revolution*, 2nd ed, (London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd., 1961).

[9] William Weber, *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth-Century England: A Study in Canon, Ritual & Ideology*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), v-vi.

[10] Weber, *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth-Century England*, viii; for a parallel discussion on the development of culture and consumption patterns see; Roger Fiske, *English Theater Music in the Eighteenth Century*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1973); Charles Beecher Hogan, *The London Stage, 1776-1800*, (London Feffer &Simons, 1968).

in Britain, there was less control by the English state over the affairs of music, but this did not mean less influence.[11] This study argues that English political influence provided the backdrop for antient music to develop, while utilizing it for the political advancements of those in power.

Patrons of the arts used music for centuries to display their wealth, power, status, identity, and religion. In 1685 nobles sent musicians and commissioned works for the coronation of King James II and Mary of Modena. This form of patronage of the arts used music to display to the King the noble's support of the Monarchy. There was a political message sent to His Majesty by the nobles through this form of cultural production as a form of currency instead of a monetary gesture. Aside from these small gestures patrons of the arts used music as a form of cultural production to display their wealth and power to other nobles. This continued into the eighteenth century as patrons continued to support the production of music. This form of patronage changed in the early 1700s when there occurred a shift in the use of this cultural production as a type of political currency that had a greater role than in previous centuries. The political and economic condition of Great Britain and the rest of Europe created a society in which patrons did not have the wealth to support the arts. Music as a cultural production took on a different presence and meaning in Great Britain. Patrons' use of music became a form of currency, not only in aristocratic circles, but also in the new middle class that developed along with the "public sphere." Patrons of the arts continued to use music as a form of political currency to gain support and to show support for their political positions. Patrons provided support to the arts to help ensure their survival as the ruling classes. People of all ranks attended concerts provided by patrons, often paying high prices to take part in these events. The aristocrats who developed, organized, and funded music and musical displays received patronage from a wide range of

---

[11] Weber, *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth-Century England*, 7-8; For more on the development of antient music see; Adam von Ahn Carse, *The Orchestra in the Eighteenth Century*, (Cambridge: W.Heffer, 1940).

individuals who often attended to support the music, but also those who organized the concerts. This patronage in another form showed the importance of music as a form of political currency.

My research focuses on concert programs published from 1750 to 1800. These programs provide connections between the Duke of Leeds, the director of these specific concerts, and other Members of Parliament in Britain during the late eighteenth century. Other sources that I am interested in analyzing are the political memoranda of Francis Godolphin Osborne, the 5th Duke of Leeds, and some of his political correspondence. The political memoranda and his political correspondence shed light on the Duke of Leeds' political affiliations and his connections to music. The creation of a British identity and the Duke's admiration for the development of a British people around a British identity through music might also be explained. Using the records of debates in Parliament also provides access to prevailing issues during which these concerts were produced. Through this connection an understanding of Leeds' use of music shows his production of concerts as tied to his political agenda. The concert guides contain program notes and summaries of the music utilized to influence the audiences. An analysis of the music that was presented in these concerts and the concert programs shows a connection to the Duke of Leeds and persons whom he was attempting to unify in the House of Lords. These sources help to provide avenues of inquiry on the subject of the development of culture, music, and politics in Britain during the eighteenth-century as both a means for political dominance by some Members of Parliament, and for the creation and unification of a British identity that was waning under the then-present government.

The case of the Duke of Leeds and his political patronage demonstrates the continuation of patronage in the eighteenth century along with the use of culture as political currency. The series of concerts from 1780 to1798 demonstrates how a Member of Parliament chose to support

his politics and to solidify his power. The use of this patronage provided a means by which a politician could circumvent governmental fractionalism to help support his own political career, as well as the creation and sustainability of the English government in a time of turmoil. This use of culture, specifically music, as political currency reflected a larger phenomenon of society and culture as a means to produce change in Europe. The British politicians not only sought to create a lasting position for themselves in government, but many also thought it their duty to provide a solidified and united government for the people that represented their Britishness. This thesis serves as a political and cultural history detailing how political elites thought and how key individuals utilized music as political currency to protect their positions and support their governments. Members of the political elite, such as the Duke of Leeds, used music, a form of culture, in an effort to sustain their positions in government by creating greater unity under their vision of Britain and the British state. Following the work of Linda Colley, this study utilizes her theory on the creation of Britishness through economics and religion. According to Colley, national identity is created during times of crisis because communities need a common bond. This thesis discusses the creation of a national identity through the use of music, why political elites employed music for this creation, how music was also used as political currency, and the history of antient music in this development. The Duke of Leeds' use of music as political currency was a tactic to gain political power and to create a sense of unity within the House of Lords. The concert programs shed light on what music people thought of as being part of British identity. A connection to the political writings of the Duke of Leeds also displays how he connected his politics to his strong desire for a British identity.

E.P. Thompson's approach to eighteenth-century culture and social structure focuses on the creation of culture and its use in politics. His approach suggested that political and economic

stability can only persist with cultural productions. This cultural development also created a sense of class conflict between the working-classes and the political elite. However, this study approaches the development and use of cultural productions not as a class conflict but as a type of currency used to create political and social stability. The concerts directed by the Duke of Leeds served as a way to understand those who attended the concerts and how they connected music to their identity and to his strength as a political figure. This thesis analyzes the use of music by the political elite as a form of currency to both strengthen their political position and unify the government. The goal of the case study is to display how and why the political elite used music as political currency in a particular context, Britain in the eighteenth century. It establishes the type of music utilized, as it connected to British identity. By looking at the political writings of the Duke of Leeds, concert programs, and the Parliamentary records this thesis uncovers how and why a Member of the House of Lords solidified and bolstered his position in government, as well as creating a path for political and social unity through the creation of British identity.

I investigate four main issues: cultural production, patronage, politics and music as a form of political currency. To begin this study secondary source readings are used to understand cultural production in the time period and the forms that it took. It will also be beneficial to have an understanding of the overall political, social, and economic climate of this period. Understanding this background makes connections to and the study of patronage more accessible.

The first part of my study consists of an analysis of culture and the patrons of this period, wherein I explore the part played by aristocrats, and the middle class, who supported music in the period. Patrons were not only the aristocrats but were also the lower and middle class

individuals who took part in showing their patronage for the arts thus using music as a form of political currency. To understand the use of music as a form of political currency it is useful to understand the forms patronage took prior to the eighteenth century and its later development. Patronage was transformed during the 1700's not only for social and economic reason in Great Britain, but also for political reason, as the country was experiencing shifts in all areas of society.

The second part of my project analyzes how patrons used music as a form of political currency in the developing political setting of the eighteenth century. Musicians and the patrons of the arts often used music for events to show support of the Monarch or to extend the chance for the people to show their support of the Monarch by attending concerts, another form of patronage. Often aristocrats attached the Monarch's name to concert programs to show that support of the concert meant support of the King.

Finally, I look at individual collections from the Duke of Leeds for instances of patronage of the arts and when and where his patronage took place to make connections to political events that would show the use of music as a form of political currency. The movements and political ideologies of the Duke of Leeds are evidenced through a thorough analysis of the Duke of Leeds' collection of letters and writings and the concert programs. The Duke's writings provide evidence of what he felt as important to the creation of a British identity and how culture was important to the development of the English state. This connects to his use of concerts as political currency in an effort to support his political positions. Looking at the concert programs also provides insight into what eighteenth-century individuals saw as important and the music that they continued to support. I show that music continued to be used as a form of political currency, specifically political currency in the eighteenth century and the different reasons for support of the arts by patrons in their efforts to solidify and continue to display their political

positions and alliances. By looking at concert programs, correspondences among patrons, and individual's writings, I cover both the support that these concerts received and the political support that the audiences were inclined to follow.

This thesis is comprised of four main chapters, all of which revolve around patronage of the arts as political currency and the development of culture, society, politics, and identity. The first chapter discusses cultural productions and patronage. A brief analysis of cultural productions and the societal functions will provide the foundation for understanding the development of music as political currency in the eighteenth century. The focus of this chapter is the changing social milieu of Great Britain that caused a shift in the creation of cultural productions and patronage of the arts in the mid-1700s. Tied to the creation of culture is its support system. The issue of the system of patronage, its development, and the turn in the early eighteenth century away from royal patronage and its actual continuation after the change in British government in the late eighteenth century is further analyzed. This also includes a discussion on the importance that war and revolution played in shifting British society and the modes of cultural production and patronage. Chapter two concerns the development of antient music in the 1750s and beyond. This chapter begins with a look at music as it was in 1700 and how it developed from 1700 to 1750. As this thesis suggests, there occurred a shift in the production of music, specifically a decline in 1750 until the 1770s with the upsurge of antient music. This chapter discusses the importance of the development of antient music as a method to create British identity, which was then utilized by Members of Parliament as political currency after seeing its worth. Chapter three surveys the politics of the "long" eighteenth century. This includes a study of the development of the two-party system in Britain and the influence that the government system had on culture and society. This chapter determines that with developments

of opposition to the two-party system there grew an independent party that sought to establish a

government that harkened to the past, politically and culturally with music. Chapter four

examines the case of the Duke of Leeds and how he employed concerts of antient music as

political currency for his own political gain. This also includes the importance of individuals

seeking to create a unified government though creating a unified identity. This chapter draws

together the previous chapters in understanding how a particular individual used culture as a

form of political currency in eighteenth-century Britain. The fourth chapter addresses the

patron's political office and the influence of politics in an individual's duty as a Member of

Parliament. This includes an analysis of British society and the issues with the development of a

unified government in a class separated society. This study provides a connection to previous

studies on politics and culture of the eighteenth century to understand how and why patrons of

the arts utilized music as political currency. On a wider spectrum, this study advances

knowledge of how culture and society influence politics and the importance of music as political

currency in the development of government.

CHAPTER 1

THE PRODUCTION OF A CULTURE: CREATION, PRODUCTION, AND USES OF CULTURE IN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY BRITAIN

As all th' Efforts of France were forc'd to yield
To English Fire, and thought at Blenheim's Field;
The Hour will one Day come that shall advance
The British Muse o'er Foreign Song and Dance.[1]

-John Dennis, 1705

The eighteenth century was a time of change both politically and socially for Great Britain and Europe. The production of culture and its uses in British society began to take on new forms and meaning. Culture can be seen as the customs, ideas or behaviors that a group of people, whether a nation or society, all share in common. Often, this means that a particular group or society is depicted or differentiated by these customs that they develop in common. A society develops its identity from the culture that it consumes. The assorted arrays of cultural materials that individuals come into contact with forms an individual's conception of who they are and where they can develop to in the society in which they live.[2] Culture and cultural productions form the societies in which citizens live and the identities which they create in those societies. According to historian E.P. Thompson, the only way for a society to exist is through its cultural productions; they form the basis for political and economic stability. A society is grounded in the culture that it produces for whatever means. For Thompson, the cultural development in a society created a class conflict that is often resolved through culture.[3] Looking at the Duke of Leeds and the concerts produced in the late eighteenth century provide insight into

---

[1] John Dennis, *Gibraltar: or, The Spanish Adventure* (London: printed for William Turner, 1705), 20.

[2] Dror Wahrman, *The Making of the Modern Self: Identity and Culture in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), xv.

[3] For more on Thompson's approach to culture in the eighteenth century and a discussion of the relationship between politics, economics, and culture see; E.P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (New York: Vintage Books, 1963).

cultural developments as established by the upper class and across classes to create a type of unity in Britain through culture. Historian T.C.W. Blanning had a different conception of the workings of culture in the eighteenth century. According to Blanning, there existed a great transition from an "old culture" to a new culture in a "public sphere," which fused many cultural phenomena together in a cultural revolution. The "public sphere" comprised the citizens who were not part of the implementation of power. This sphere of private individuals was not completely those of the lower and middling sorts. He argued that this "public sphere" was the collection of private individuals that united under a common culture, developing a new cultural space which challenged the ruling order in Europe.[4] In the eighteenth century there existed this "revolution" in culture that at once demanded a new cultural space and the connection between the ruled and the rulers, who had to transition to be successful politicians and servants of the state. This transition occurred through the use of cultural productions such as art, music, drama, poetry, et al. These cultural mediums were developed to create a new culture, the "public sphere," which would influence and be influenced by politics, economics, society, and the culture that developed.[5]

For this study, cultural productions are those goods that are "distinctive" to and produced by a particular society. This also includes the products, both material and intellectual, that were adopted and incorporated into a society for use in their own cultural heritage and development. Paintings and other visual arts are often utilized by societies to provide depictions of what it means to be part of a society and a good citizen. Latin American scholar Mariselle Melendez's work looked at the use of art as a means to produce good Christian citizens in Peru. She argued

---

[4] Blanning, *The Culture of Power and the Power of Culture*, 2-4.

[5] The creation of the public sphere and the emergence of public participation in society is not the core of this study, but provides context for the Cultural Revolution which occurred in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. For further discussion of this and the development of modern culture see; Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*.; Blanning, *The Culture of Power and the Power of Culture*.

that the female body, in the context of art, was utilized as political and cultural developments in the eighteenth century. According to Melendez, through representations of the female form, culture was used as a tool to achieve power and order in society.[6] Another form of cultural production employed to shape society was literature and the physical print materials. In a chapter entitled "The Eighteenth-Century Novel and Print Culture: A Proposed Modesty," Christopher Flint discussed the importance of print literature to the development of the "public sphere." He argued that printed text not only affected changing trends in eighteenth-century society, but "transforms how people read, think, and interact socially," thus altering the social structure of a society.[7] In the case of the British Isles in the eighteenth century, the English sought out to create cultural products and customs that were unique to their society and had been so for many years. This chapter focuses on the development of cultural productions in the eighteenth century and more specifically the contribution of music to society and its development.

To understand the development of cultural productions in Britain in the eighteenth century there needs to be a division between cultural productions produced for the sake of art and society and culture produced for direct ends. As many authors have stated, this divide was often between a time prior to the development of a "public sphere" and after that creation.[8] This study focuses on the development in the use of cultural productions over the course of the eighteenth century. To understand this shift, one approach is to look at the eighteenth century as divided between pre-1750 and post-1750. This change is more complex than dividing it into two

---

[6] Mariselle Melendez, *Deviant and Useful Citizens: The Culture Production of the Female Body in Eighteenth-century Peru* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2011), 2.

[7] Christopher Flint, "The Eighteenth-Century Novel and Print Culture: A Proposed Modesty," in *A Companion to the Eighteenth-century English Novel and Culture*, edited by Paula r. Backscheider and Catherine Ingrassia (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 354-356.

[8] See; Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere.*

separate eras, but to understand the growth of culture, society, and politics, this division has been used for this study. This shift was accompanied by the transition to the "public sphere," but was not the major catalyst for this change, nor the focus of this paper.

Many studies have looked at how the understanding of cultural productions, through patronage, changed in the mid-1750s and what could account for this change. According to music historian and musicologist Cyril Ehrlich, the concept of cultural productions has often changed in definition as the systems of patronage have changed in European society. Ehrlich's study provided an analysis of patronage of cultural productions in Europe and argued that cultural productions, such as music, changed due to the altering form of the patronage system and the market. Under the early patronage system the clients, i.e. musicians, were "subject to a patron's whim, his bargaining power tempered by immobility and the disciplines of a closely-knit social system."[9] The clients of patrons were required to produce what their patrons felt was significant to their culture. The products of musician's labours changed with the commercialization of music. With the gradual movement of printed music to the stage and the mass production of public concerts, the role of the patron-client relationship was changing. The increased freedom of musicians opened up music to society at large and did not restrict the production of music to the "whims" of the aristocracy. According to Ehrlich, this commercialization in the mid-eighteenth century shifted cultural productions from commodities for use by patrons as vainglorious displays to the use of culture as political currency to influence the social and political structure of the state.[10]

The use of cultural productions has been more broadly defined as having gone through a transformation in 1700. According to historian J.H. Plumb, nations of Europe experienced

---

[9] Cyril Ehrlich, *The Music Profession in Britain since the Eighteenth Century: A Social History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 1.

[10] Ehrlich, *The Music Profession in Britain Since the Eighteenth Century*, 3.

"cultural poverty" prior to the 1700s[11]   Many societies were without newspapers, books, libraries, theaters, concert halls, museums, or even galleries.   Plumb meant that the general public or society at large did not have access to all of these cultural productions prior to 1700. Plumb insisted that what changed this accessibility and the employment of these cultural productions was a larger society hungry to consume cultural goods.   The increase in the printed word provides one explanation for this interest in and use of cultural productions after 1740. This shift in the creation and use of cultural productions in the 1750s was due largely to economic and social shifts.   The lower and middling-sorts growth in population also translated to wealth and a need for greater accessibility for resources, but this would come at a price.   The Duke of Leeds used this growing desire for cultural productions to provide them to the people, with the intent that they could act as political currency to help him accomplish his political goals.

Prior to 1750, British music, art, and other artistic creations were fashioned for the pleasure of the artist's patron.   The primary motivation of the patrons was to heighten their cultural status as signs of their intellectual and cultural superiority, equitable to their positions as aristocrats.[12]   For the majority of the early modern period, culture was produced for use as displays of power and as part of the requirement of the aristocracies' patronage.   The culture produced by the aristocracy in this period found its center in the country estates of the nobility. The leaders of the aristocracy could afford extravagant spending to create marvelous examples of English architecture in the building of their estates.   Other examples of culture produced by the nobility were literature, music, and material artifacts that filled their mansions.   In the eighteenth-century literature was a cultural force that continued to affect society.   Following the

---

[11]Neil McKendrick, John Brewer, and J.H. Plumb, *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England* (London: Europa Publications, 1982), 275-280.
   [12] Rebecca Herissone, Alan Howard, eds., *Concepts of Creativity in Seventeenth-Century England* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2013), 14-16.

work of Porter and Brewer, David Cressy argues that literacy in the eighteenth century was low, but on the rise. The literate groups of society included the nobility, gentry, clergy, merchants, and tradesman. Of these groups, most males and only of the gentry were literate. Still, the majority of society could not read. Of the aristocracy, most of those with influence and power, could read and follow the newspapers. The people of the city and of privileged had between a 50%-60% literacy rate. Though not all in society were able to read newspapers and works of literature to understand their meaning, the influential and noble individuals of society had the ability to read and understand the opinions and changes presented by the literature they read.[13] The aristocracy, according to Samuel Clark, publishing written works, often memoirs and letters, was an influential way to produce and provide culture to the literate "middling sort." This effort provided a way for individuals to read and understand the culture above them in an effort to imitate it. With the increase of printed and written works, the commodity of the written word became ever more popular and devoured by society.[14]

The increase in printing not only stimulated the development of the written word as a commodity, but produced popular forms of culture. The rise of the novel in the eighteenth century brought with it the increase in reading and writing that changed society. In the novels that Europeans read, they would often find characters that they wanted to emulate and to use their experiences to help understand their own experiences in the world. Eighteenth-century individuals used the printed word that they consumed to reconstruct their identity and understanding of the self in society. The change was based on the need to produce a culture

[13] David Cressy, "Literacy in Context: Meaning and Measurement in Early Modern England," in John Brewer and Roy Porter, eds., *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London: Routledge, 1993): 305-319; see also Margaret Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories: Popular Fiction and Its Readership in Seventeenth-Century England* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1982).
[14] Samuel Clark, *State and Status: The Rise of the State and Aristocratic Power in Western Europe* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995), 356.

based on productivity.[15] According to Sarah Jordan, with the development of the printed word came the discourse of "idleness." This discourse of "idleness" shamed not only literature, but culture, in its form and production. Individuals in society utilized culture as a means to shape an identity. Jordan focused on literature as the medium through which identity was shaped. This form of culture and the discussion of "idleness" showed the importance of creating a productive society centered on culture that was beneficial and productive to social identity.[16] Literature and the development of printing technology was only one form of culture that was produced and utilized in the eighteenth century for the cultivation of high culture for the aristocrats and a social identity in Europe, and Britain specifically.

Another cultural production consumed in the eighteenth century as a means to develop aristocratic culture was music. The beginning of this lavish consumption can be traced back to the late Elizabethan era, which is the beginning of the type of aristocratic cultural consumption that is seen in the eighteenth century. In the music rooms of the country estates, music was produced, purchased, and performed. In order for music to be performed, patrons had to enlist the services of musicians, composers, and conductors to compose or purchase and play the music for the patron and their guests.[17] Patrons of music invited other aristocrats to their homes to present the music that they had funded for production. To fully understand the development of the patronage of music, it must first be looked at from its development in the late sixteenth century. A great example of the importance placed on music in the sixteenth century is the Country home of Chatsworth, the residence of the Earls (later Dukes) of Devonshire. In 1596-1599 the Earl spent considerable amounts to bring musical instruments to Chatsworth in an effort

---

[15] Clifford Siskin, *The Work of Writing: Literature and Social Change in Britain, 1700-1830* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1999), 158-159.

[16] Sarah Jordan, *The Anxieties of Idleness: Idleness in Eighteenth-Century British Literature and Culture* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2003), 22.

[17] Clark, *State and Status*, 353-354.

to produce concerts comprised mainly of string instruments. The Earl provided entertainment for those who would visit the manor, thus displaying his wealth and power though the ability to afford such luxuries. He also donated considerable sums to music teachers for the musical education of his son William. The 1st Earl found it greatly important to have his son learn music and even purchased multiple scores for his son to learn at five to eight shillings per score.[18] Music was increasingly important to aristocratic society, not for the political or economic power it bought, but for the social and cultural superiority and power that it displayed to those lesser than the nobility.

Aristocratic families of this period found significance in music as a powerful tool to demonstrate power and provide a well-rounded education to those in power, increasing their ability to govern. Great families such as the Dukes of Devonshire and their residences at Chatsworth or the Lord Curzon of Kedleston exercised cultural power by providing other citizens with models of behavior in a proper society. To understand the development and decline of this practice in the eighteenth century it is first beneficial to look at the development of music education for the elite in the sixteenth century, where the phenomenon began to develop. In politician and scholar Sir Thomas Elyot's work *The Book Named The Governor 1557*, he discussed the importance of music at the center of a courtly education. According to Elyot, an understanding of musical harmony would give any prince the knowledge of his public and the ability to keep society from disorder.[19] Music was an important aspect of aristocratic society as a method to help develop aristocratic culture and governance in the period prior to 1750. The great majority of the country homes employed musicians and funded musical creations for the development and continuation of culture in the country. This provided a sort of power for the

---

[18] David Price, *Patrons and Musicians of the English Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 113-114.

[19] Arthur Turberville Eliot, *The Book Named The Governour* (London: T. Marsh, 1557).

aristocracy as it was something unattainable to those of lower social status, though it led to them wanting to imitate that culture.[20]

The middling sorts, gentry, and others in the counties did not have the opportunity to experience this culture, but would learn their place in society by hearing of it. Individuals learned, first through conversation and then in print, the greatness of the culture of the nobility, therefore increasing reverence and respect of the power and wealth of the nobility. According to Samuel Clark, this growth in power was seen through the acceptance in society of the nobility's position and power in the social order. Clark argues that lower classes in society imitated and followed the culture produced by the nobility because it was a trend to follow. As the nobility increased their patronage of literature and plays, the lower classes would look for this same type of entertainment. This was a form of cultural power, as the nobility had the means to dictate how they were viewed through the culture that they were able to produce by their patronage.[21]

The creation of culture in British society was frequently connected to the system of patronage that dominated the English landscape since the formation of the state. Early modern state formation often coincided with social and cultural changes that effected the political fluctuations of the state.[22] In Britain prior to 1750, culture was produced for a patron and his household. Musicians, artists, poets, and the like all depended on the patronage of royal and

---

[20] Clark, *State and Status*, 356.

[21] Clark, *State and Status,* 357-259.

[22] According to M. Braddick in *State Formation in Early Modern England*, the English state really began to from around the 1550s after the reign of Queen Mary I. During this period, the agents of the state, those who influenced state formation, were those who controlled political positions. These individuals would utilize their positions to effect change for the formation of the British state. According to some historians, those with the ability to effect social and political change were those with political positions granted by the state. Agents of the state used others outside the realm of political power to influence those in their political sphere to also effect and sway change. This would arguably continue in the late seventeenth century when agents of the state would continue to effect change, but with the use of culture as a source of influence for change along with the legitimate force employed by the state. For further discussion on the early modern state formation and politics, society, and culture see; Michael J. Braddick, *State Formation in Early Modern England, c. 1550-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), J. A. Sharpe, *Early Modern England: A Social History 1550-1760* (London, St. Martin's Press, 1987), Michael Mann, *The Sources of Social Power* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

aristocratic families for their support. Patrons depended upon their artists to provide culture to their households. Culture in the private aristocratic realm took the form of actual physical productions such as art and music, as well as instruction and management of private cultural affairs of the patrons.[23] This particular form of culture was utilized to fulfill the needs of patrons. The musicians, artists, poets, etc., would perform or produce works of art that were pleasing to the patron in an effort to fulfill their duty to the patron.[24] In England prior to the eighteenth century, and even beyond, patrons would often use culture as extravagant exhibitions of their wealth and power. According to music historian Deborah Rohr, private aristocratic patronage prior to the eighteenth century was on the scale of royal patronage, the last being the Duke of Chandos' grandiose musical cohort in the 1720s.[25] The patrons not only supported musicians for their talents in performing, but also tasked them with providing culture to their families. The musicians hired provided concerts for the patron in their private chapels and salons. These concerts were products to display the wealth of a patron for having the means to support a conductor, musicians, and the time it took them to learn the music showed a great deal of wealth and therefore power. Often the musicians employed by a noble family were tasked with teaching their children to read music and play an instrument. It was part of the musicians' duty to bring culture to the manor house since these aristocratic children had idle time which needed to be consumed by culture to increase their sense of identity and superiority.[26]

The forms of cultural production in the years prior to 1750 were not only of concerts, but intellectual production in the form of printed music. Musicians and composers, as part of a noble

---

[23] Deborah Rohr, *The Careers of British Musicians, 1750-1850: A Profession of Artisans* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 40-41.

[24] Ehrlich, *The Music Profession in Britain since the Eighteenth Century*, 3.

[25] Rohr, *The Careers of British Musicians, 1750-1850*, 44-45.

[26] For a more detailed discussion of patrons and their clients see Deborah Rohr's chapter "Patrons," in *The Careers of British Musicians*.

household, provided families with musical education, establishing private concerts for their patrons, and composing music.[27] According to composer John Dowland (1563-1626) in his *First Booke of Songs*, published in London in 1597, great importance was placed on the creation of music under aristocratic patronage. In this period great pride was taken by composers over their compositions as not only commodities, but as "offspring" sent out into the "publike view."[28] These compositions were often performed in the houses of noble gentlemen, but with the development of print technology, these compositions spread to further parts of society, even penetrating the worlds of lesser nobility and gentry. The production of printed music was important to the dissemination of culture to Britain. Musical scores also showed the power and cultured nature of a patron to have a servant produce great works of art under their patronage. In the late seventeenth century, printed music was meant to provide in a public forum a display of what a patron and his artist had produced, with particular importance placed on music that was new in style and form. Patrons used this production of culture to display their power, which was seen in their ability to afford and influence a great artist to create such prodigious works of art.[29] This form of patronage for the sake and cultural well-being of the patron changed in the 1750s, coinciding with changes in society, the economy, and culture.

The greatest stress and change to the British market and society was the American War for Independence and the French Revolution. Following the American War, the British economy experienced a downturn. The economy had been structured around the West Indies and American trade, with a fifth of trade revenue originating from the West Indies and sixty-five percent from America. After the war and the loss of the Thirteen Colonies, Britain experienced a

[27] Rohr, 45.
[28] As cited in Rebecca Herissone, *Concepts of Creativity in Seventeenth-Century England*, 82.
[29] Tim Carter and John Butt, *The Cambridge History of Seventeenth-Century Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 69-70.

decline in its economy.[30] This economic fluctuation caused distress not only in the British economic sector, but in society, politics, and the development of culture. In an effort to protect other American possessions, Britain reinforced other colonies such as Bermuda to fortify British stronghold possessions in the Americas. The pressure of fortifying their overseas holdings depleted many of the resources of the British people and rushed the decline in cultural developments. The patrons who once supported great productions of art, music, and literature in Britain found it increasingly difficult to provide for the creation of such artistic endeavors. Additionally, the French Revolution, as E.P. Thompson discussed, created a type of social instability as its ideals created an "agitation" among the working peoples changing and shaping their experiences.[31] This was also a time of stunted cultural production. The aristocracy found it pertinent to keep "every kind of innovation" from occurring in Britain, unless it could be utilized to their benefit. This would hinder the production of culture in Britain unless it was to the benefit of the nobility who were producing those forms of culture. The disturbances of the late eighteenth century fused with the technological advances and creative endeavors beginning in the 1750s caused a shift in cultural production in the latter half of the century.

There has long been a fracture between scholars on the forms, uses, and understandings of cultural products in the early modern period. Recent studies have focused on methods of understanding politics and society through the lenses of "ideas, imagery and performance."[32] In Britain, the creation of artistic productions, specifically music, and their uses shifted in the late eighteenth century. After the restoration of the Monarchy and the developments in the late

---

[30] Holger Hoock, *Empires of the Imagination: Politics, War, and the Arts in the British World, 1750-1850* (London: Profile Books, 2010), 75-79.

[31] Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, 24-25.

[32] Herissone, *Concepts of Creativity in Seventeenth-Century England*, 82.

1750s-1770s, the forms and uses of music in Britain changed. The displays of concerts on the estates of the aristocracy gave way to the public concerts and the musical scene in London.[33]

The uses of music and patronage no longer depended on the patronage of musicians and composers but on the production of concerts. These concerts developed from grand displays of wealth and power of the aristocracy, to types of influential events to persuade an audience, a form of "currency." The production of a concert or a musical event was not to provide a show of power, but to present the production for political means. This was also evident with the development and use of political cartoons. The production of culture and its uses saw a major shift in the late eighteenth century with the changing forms of patronage and the development of the political system in Great Britain. Patronage transformed from the gifting of support between the nobility for political or social positions in society, to the patronage of musicians and artists for political permanence in an environment of political and social change.

Aristocratic patronage took a turn in the early eighteenth century with the slow decline of the aristocracy, but it had not completely ended.[34] The decline of the aristocratic patronage came with the decline of the aristocracy itself. Many historians place the early decline of the aristocracy with the ending of many of the peerages in Britain. There was also a transition in land-ownership in this period which led to the decrease in the number of peers in the realm.[35] In the late eighteenth century, as it had been occurring in earlier centuries of British history, there was a movement toward the center of government, London. The movement of the elite away from their country estates created a cultural decline in the localities that would not necessarily be

---

[33] Pierre Danchin, "The Foundation of the Royal Academy of Music in 1674 and Pierre Perrin's Ariane," *Theater Survey*, 25 (1984), 55-67.

[34] According to Deborah Rohr, aristocratic patronage continued well into the nineteenth century with the employment of individual musicians for personal chapels in Britain. See Rorh, *The Careers of British Musicians, 1750-1850*.

[35] David Cannadine, *Aspects of Aristocracy: Grandeur and Decline in Modern Britain* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 11.

filled by cultural creations at the center. The patrons of culture found themselves in decline in the localities. They began to move toward the center of power, London, in an effort to reduce their expenditure, thus reducing their clientage.[36]

This cultural decline of the aristocracy is synonymous with the economic decline that the aristocracy faced during the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century. According to economists Matthias Doepke and Fabrizio Zilibotte, in their article "Social Class and the Spirit of Capitalism," the economic decline of the aristocracy was attributed to the industrialization and the misfortune of the landed elite because of social and economic forces. The Ancient Regime, or the old elite, often opposed political reform in an effort to keep power centered with their class and to hinder diffusion of political power. This power structure of the aristocracy changed with the abrupt introduction of violence and war in society.[37] War was not the only change that precipitated the decline of the elites. Aristocratic families were burdened by debt because of war and the extravagant spending without profit influxes. This resulted in the aristocracy selling off their lands in the localities and gravitating toward the center of power, being around London.[38] Part of the problem faced by the aristocracy to move was the Industrial Revolution of which the nobility did not fully take advantage. The conception that the aristocracy failed in the late eighteenth century, even with the advancement of the Industrial Revolution is contrary to the economic theory of wealth inequality, which states that the rich should benefit from technological growth.[39] Doepke and Zilibotti put forth a different theory to possibly explain the decline of the aristocracy in the face of the Industrial Revolution.

---

[36] See Braddick, *State Formation in Early Modern England,* 7-12; Temma F. Berg, *The Lives and Letters of an Eighteenth-century Circle of Acquaintance* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2006), chapter 12.

[37] See; David Cannadine, *The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990).

[38] Matthias Doepke, and Fabrizio Zilibotti, "Social Class and the Spirit of Capitalism," *Journal of the European Economic Association 3,* no. 2/3(April 2005): 519.

[39] Doepke, and Zilibotti, "Social Class and the Spirit of Capitalism," 519.

According to Doepke and Zilibotti, the "endogenous choice of the rate of time preference" theory provided a further understanding of the decline of the aristocracy through the investment of patience in children. The theory follows that as parents invest time in instilling patience into their children to learn to sacrifice in the present and accept economic incentives that would pay off in the future. For the eighteenth century this meant the difference between the middle class, artisans and craftsmen, the working classes, and the aristocracy. The middle class had the cultural edge in that they continually had to make sacrifices to exploit new technology to learn their craft. The aristocracy and the working classes had a flat rate of income; they either collected income from the land they owned or they worked the land as unskilled laborers and therefore never had to sacrifice time to learn a skill. With the advance of the Industrial Revolution, the middle classes took advantage of the new technology presented to them, in that they took the time to learn it and sacrifice money to invest. Doepke and Ziliboti argue that, all things being equal, artisans faced a higher incentive to invest in new technology because they were more patient and willing to invest their present income for the future profits. The landowners and working classes, having not learned patience, often would not invest in the new technologies of the Industrial Revolution.[40] This would lead to the rise of the new middle class industrialists who would economically replace the aristocracy. The economic decline of the aristocracy as described by Doepke and Zilibott provides an understanding as to why cultural productions would have declined in the late eighteenth century. With less economic wealth for the aristocracy to become patrons of the arts, the duty to support such creation lay with the remaining aristocracy, the rising gentry, or, in the case of the 5th Duke of Leeds in the late eighteenth century, with a group of wealthy aristocrats. These aristocrats would not use the

---

[40] Doepke, and Zilibotti, "Social Class and the Spirit of Capitalism," 522.

production of culture as displays of wealth, as they could not afford it, but would provide for the creation of culture in an effort to use it in exchange for political power and superiority.

The nobility, or Members of the House of Lords holding a peerage of Britain, did not experience as much of a financial decline as it did a cultural decline as fewer nobility were providing for the presentation of culture, whether by virtue of their inability to do so or their unwillingness. In an account from Daniel Defoe (1660-1731) the decline in the nobility was seen in their inability to maintain the grandeur of their estates. Though Defoe is describing an earlier period of decline, it was small in nature and the decrease in power and wealth of the nobility persisted though the eighteenth century. In his *A Tour through the Whole Island of Great Britain*, Defoe described all that he sew around him and the history of each place that he passed. In one instance, while in the county of Middlesex in the village of Edgware, he was diverted to the county home of the Duke of Chandois. There he found the beautiful architecture of the home and chapel of the former Duke. Defoe described concerts and religious services that once took place under the direction of the Duke and the musicians and vocalists once in the employ of the Duke under his patronage. Finally, he lamented how "Sorry I am, that I am obliged to say, that all these Beauties *were*, instead of *are*. But such is the Fate of sublunary Things, that all this Grandeur is already at an End!"[41] Daniel Defoe's account on Britain in the 1700s provides insight into the state of the country prior to the wars of Europe and devastation that would precipitate the turn in British cultural productions. Though his accounts describe only what he had experienced, they provide insight into the decline of the aristocracy evidenced by their absence. With the economic downturn in the 1760-1770s and the changing form of the

---

[41] Daniel Defoe, *A Tour Thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain. Divided into Circuits or Journies*, 6th ed. (London: D. Browne, 1761), 163-164. The first edition of this work was published between 1724-1726 detailing his travels through England. For a more detailed description of the work see; Daniel Defoe, *A tour through the whole island of Great Britain*, edited by Pat Rogers (New York: Viking Penguin, 1989).

British Empire, the nobility was changing. Following the transformation of the cultural scene in Britain came the development in the employment of culture in terms of power.

Despite the decline in power of the nobility, culture was still maintained as a way to achieve power. Eighteenth-century patronage of art began to take on political meaning, beyond just being a status symbol. The decline in the nobility and their displays of power left a gap in the production of culture in this period.[42] The aristocrats who once used their financial holdings to support artists and provide concerts for their peers were less able to provide such displays in the late eighteenth century. Though there was this inability to provide such grand display and acts of patronage, there was still a great desire for the creation and demonstration of culture. The British continued to find themselves concerned with the development of "fine arts" as a social and political tool to help bind the nation. This change in the ability of patron's provisions to support the arts and the continuing need to create art for social stability led to the development of cultural productions for use as political currency.[43]

Cultural productions in the period after 1750 were often created for the suggested purposes of doing something politically for the patron, and not just as works of art or shows of power. The aristocracy, or members of the Peerage, had differing political goals when producing cultural creations. They sought political positions and also support for bills and debates with the cultural productions that they supported. These different cultural productions were utilized by patrons, particularly by the Members of Parliament in the House of Lords in different capacities. Many members used cultural productions not as tools but a political currency, expecting support in return for providing culture to British society. One such medium that began to take shape and

---

[42] The decline in displays of power should not be confused with actual political power. The nobility, gentry, and members of the House of Lords, still held political offices that made them political agents of the state with legitimate authority. See, Braddick, *State Formation in Early Modern England.*

[43] Hoock, *Empires of the Imagination*, 14.

spread across Britain was the political cartoon. Though English cartoons and satirical prints had

been in print for some time, since the early fourteenth century, their use and influence increased

in the eighteenth century. These images began to form into the colorful prints that were often

associated with the eighteenth century. These cartoons often commented on the political

situation of the country, more specifically focusing on the Monarch and those around him or her.

Though these images were satirical and often used to ridicule, they are still important resources

for historical analysis because they are based on some truth. This truth is what makes the

message that the image is trying to convey to the reader understandable. Graphic satires are also

important to helping understand the "flow of events, moods and fashions and reflect social

attitudes of the day."[44]

Many graphical satire depictions commented on the Monarchy and the different disputes

within government. The image "Dead. Positively Dead," possibly by Henry Kingsbury (fl.

1780s), was published by S. W. Fores on 16 November 1788. This image was created during the

Regency crisis of 1788 during the illness of King George III. In the fall of 1788, George III fell

ill and was unable to carry out his duties. There ensued a crisis as to who should receive power

over the realm while the King was still alive, and how much power should the individual be

awarded. The issue was mainly between the Prime Minister, Pitt the Younger, whom George III

supported, and Charles James Fox whom the Prince of Wales (George IV) supported. Pitt feared

that if the Prince of Wales were given royal powers, he would reorganize the powers in England

placing his favorite, Fox, as leader of the opposition, in the position of Prime Minister.[45] In the

political cartoon, the Prince of Wales is pictured as weeping fake tears for his father and saying

---

[44] Fiona Haslam, *From Hogarth to Rowlandson: Medicine in Art in Eighteenth-century Britain* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1996), xv.

[45] John W. Derry, *The Regency Crisis and the Whigs, 1788-9* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963).

"We must Keep up Appearances," while on the other side of his image is inscribed "Make Haste." The artist is very critical of the Prince, showing him as uncaring and looking forward to his path to the Crown. This caricature was created by an individual who was either critical of the Prince's situation or was paid by an opponent of the Prince. Next to the image of the Prince is that of the then Lord Chancellor, Lord Thurlow, standing in an assertive position putting on his coat. The caption next to his image reads: "This side will do as well as the other," a reference to the belief that he would change sides from the Tory to the Whig government to maintain his position in office. This is yet another criticism against Lord Thurlow for his groping for power at any costs, even if it meant changing his political views for political power. The final slight at the Prince is the reference to his mistress Mrs. Fitzherbert. In the background of the image sits Mrs. Fitzherbert being crowned Queen by two ladies, next to whom is written "Hail beauteous Queen." This references the power that Mrs. Fitzherbert would have over the Prince if he was given the powers of King or even Regent. Many in the government feared the Catholic influence that Mrs. Fitzherbert held over the Prince and how that would influence his reign.[46] This satirical depiction was very critical of the Regency crisis as it concerned the Prince of Wales and his unreliability in government.

This cartoon clearly displays the anxiety felt about the Prince and the parliamentary opposition for their positions on the Regency. There are instances of political opponents providing support to artists and caricaturists to portray their competition in an unfavorable light. Many such as William Hogarth (1697-1764) were paid handsomely for portraying individual opponents in an unsavory light in political satirical cartoons. Members of Parliament and other political leaders would pay artists to create images that favored their positions in Parliament.

---

[46] Andrew Barlow, *The Prince and his Pleasures: Satirical Images of George IV and his Circle* (Brighton: Trichrom Ltd., 1997), 5.

They would use these caricatures as political currency in an effort to give a cultural product to other individuals in return for their service or political support. In the case of these images, it was more to persuade individuals to a certain political position.[47] Though historians do not know who commissioned "Dead, Positively Dead," if it was commissioned at all, it is possible that Pitt, Francis Osborne, Fifth Duke of Leeds, and others would have been patrons to this artist because he portrayed the crisis of the Regency according to their perspective. The use of such cultural productions no longer fell into the realm of "art for art's sake," but were utilized for political purposes. These images were cultural productions that were provided as service in return for support of the position they portrayed.

The eighteenth-century political cartoons had developed to a form of cultural production that was utilized by individuals to push for political support of their positions. In the late eighteenth century, music as a cultural production was pursued for political power and unity. On February 8, 1792, The Fifth Duke of Leeds, Francis Godolphin Osborne, directed a program of "Antient Music" at the New Rooms-Tottenham Street Theater. At this concert under the direction of, or produced by, His Grace the Duke of Leeds, the works of George Frideric Handel were prominent. The first piece on the program was the *Overture and Dead March,* from the Oratorio Saul, composed in 1738 by Handel. The piece is in C-Major and begins on a solemn C-Major chord. The chordal progression of the piece moves in small steps up and down the scale, producing a triumphant and ceremonial sound. The importance of this work rests not in its great artistry, though it was great, but in its symbolic nature. The story of Saul was that of envy, jealously, uncertainty, and death. This was often thought by contemporaries to parallel the circumstances of George II and his grandson Prince George, later George III and the struggle

[47] Haslam, *From Hogarth to Rowlandson: Medicine in Art in Eighteenth-century Britain*, 65-68.

between the two for the benefit of the Kingdom. The wars and rebellion that broke out in England and for the Austrian Succession have also been connected with the story of Saul and the struggle for a kingdom. [48] Twelve days after the concert, there was a debate in the House of Lords on Earl Fitzwilliam's Resolutions respecting the interference between Russia and the Porte. The debate was held on February 20, 1792.[49] To prepare for this debate and to enlist possible support, the Duke of Leeds produced this concert of antient music with the purpose of garnering support for his cause in the House. This music was not produced for the sake of producing beautiful music; it had meaning and substance beyond its artistry.

The concert on February 8, 1792, including the works of Handel and the *Death March* from *Saul* was provided in an effort to garner political support for a particular position during a debate in the House of Lords. The debate, as mentioned earlier, was on the position of Great Britain as it concerned Russia and the Porte and Britain's involvement. This was a difficult decision because Britain had changed its position on Russia multiple times. Britain did not see the value and importance in the Porte and found that the envy and jealously between Russia and the Ottoman Empire was not of their concern. The Duke of Leeds had formed his own opinions on this matter and needed support in the House and the Commons to see that continuous change did not endure with regards to the agreement between Russia and Great Britain.[50] In the case of this debate, Leeds utilized music in an effort to gain support. The music he supported not only had symbolic meaning, but those who participated in the entertainment were expected to follow Leeds in his political crusades. Many, if not all, who attended the concert produced by Leeds

---

[48] "Concerts of Antient Music, under the Patronage of Their Majesties; as Performed at The New Room, Tottenham Street," February 8, 1792, (London: Printed for W. Lee, 1792).

[49] William Cobbett, ed., *The Parliamentary History of England, from the Earliest Period to the Year 1803: from which Last-Mentioned Epoch it is Continued Downwards in the Work Entitled, "Hansard's Parliamentary Debate,"* vol. 29 (London: Printed by T.C. Hansard, 1818), 850-855.

[50] Cobbett, *The Parliamentary History of England,* 865-866.

also voted his way in the debate over Russia. He used his connections with other Lords in an attempt to provide music to some citizens in London to persuade their decisions on the situation with Russia and the Porte. This exemplifies the change in the use of cultural productions such as music for political purposes. The Duke of Leeds was one noble who no longer provided concerts in his home for pleasure, but had taken music as a cultural production and used it as political currency.

The eighteenth century witnessed a change in the form, use, and creation of cultural productions. Prior to the 1750s, cultural productions such as music, literature, and poetry, were patronized by the great aristocracy in an effort to put on display the grandeur of their positions as nobility. Powerful and wealthy nobles, members of the Peerage of England and Wales, would support artists and musicians to produce great works of art in the patron's home. In the country estates of the wealthy nobles, music was often performed and art and literature produced for the patrons. This would provide a display of wealth and power not only to the other aristocracy who were often welcomed to experience such creations, but also to the middling and lower sorts who would have heard and been made aware of the grand displays of the peers. Historians and other scholars argue that as society changed, specifically with the decline in the aristocracy, so did the form and use of cultural productions in the eighteenth century. The influence of the American War of Independence, the French Revolution, and other economic downturns in Europe were the catalysis for the decline in the aristocracy and the system of patronage that began in the early 1700s. The decrease in the wealth and power of the aristocracy also meant that there would be less support for the arts by noble patrons. In the period following the American War for Independence and the movement of the aristocracy to the center from the localities, there was a decrease in financial support of the arts through patronage. The Lords and other nobility found it

more fiscally responsible to pool their resources and present concerts and other arts forms. The

Lords also began to make culture work for them in an effort to see a return for their investment

in the arts. The development of political cartoons and concerts for antient music are examples of

cultural productions that were utilized with an end goal of garnering support of an individual's

position after providing access to these cultural productions. In London there began a series of

concerts of antient music which developed out of a change in the 1760s to 1770s and a need not

only to have the concerts act as political currency, but also to foster the creation of a British

identity.

CHAPTER 2

MUSIC AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF CONCERTS OF ANTIENT MUSIC, AS A BRITISH CULTURAL PRODUCTION

> Therefore the music of a well-ordered age is calm and cheerful, and so is its government. The music of a restive age is excited and fierce, and its government is perverted. The music of a decaying state is sentimental and sad, and its government is imperiled.[1]
>
> -Hermann Hesse, 1943

Often, music and the cultural productions that follow, such as concerts and printed music, can be seen as a reflection of the society in which it is produced. This was true for the development and production of music as reflections of the political and social milieu in eighteenth-century England. Music as part of the culture of a society changes the soundscape of a society to reflect the fluctuations in politics, government, and society. In the early 1700s, concert music began to take on a different form, from the tavern to the formality of the specially built concert room for public concerts. During this period in Britain, there was the development of the English Oratorio and concert music. The most influential composer during this period was George Frideric Handel. Many of Handel's contemporaries saw his works as masterpieces, displaying the British spirit and ideals. The powerful works of Handel would not be matched by another masterful British composer in the later eighteenth century.

After the 1750s, there was a decline in the production of music by British composers and a general lack of a strong British identity represented through music. The subtle decline resulted from the lack of influx of artists from the continent and the transition in the tradition of composition. The loss of artistry in music, and therefore a loss in British identity, culture, and

---

[1] Hermann Hess, trans. Rinehart Hold, *The Glass Bead Game: A Novel* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1969), 30.

declining government, represented a need to recreate the past in late eighteenth century England. In the late 1780s to 1790s, music represented the changing identity of a society that was looking to restore its cultural roots. According to Linda Colley, in a time of upheaval and reform, many British would seek to connect with a happier past ideal. In the case of the 1780s, this would be an ideal that was set in the music of the early 1700s, when there was a great wealth of cultural productions by British individuals that exemplified the British tradition and culture.[2] This restoration was not in the form of new music, but in the adoption of music of the past in an effort to recreate the glory of a society. Concerts of antient music were the form which late eighteenth-century British citizens adopted to re-create a realized British identity from the past. This music would also serve the purpose as political currency, used as an exchange for political support. This music was crafted in concert series in an effort on the part of many Members of Parliament in the House of Lords to garner political support and to bolster a British identity. This chapter will focus on the development of the concerts of antient music, with its roots in the early 1700s, and the transition of music as representations of a government in a previous decade, to forms of political currency and symbols of a "new" British identity of the 1790s.

The music of a society can often describe, predict, and encourage the society, culture, and politics of a time and place. During the eighteenth century in Britain, the production, form, and uses of music took different shapes as the century progressed. This progression followed changes in society and politics often respecting the changing culture of Britain. According to R. Murray Schafer, "music is an indicator of the age, revealing…a means of fixing social and even political events."[3] Music can be seen as a means to interpret the society that is under study, which is the case with the development of society in eighteenth-century Britain. Music provides

---

[2] Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992).

[3] R. Murray Schafer, *The Soundscape: Our Sonic Environment and the Turning of the World* (Rochester: Destiny Books, 1994), 7.

a window into understanding the developments in a society and the reactions of citizens to their government. As Kirsten Wood discussed in her article, "'Join with Heart and Soul and Voice': Music, Harmony, and Politics in the Early American Republic," sound is used to elicit feelings and celebrate or denounce the government of a society. The joy and harmony in music that is produced in a society is often a reflection of the society in which it is produced.[4] Music develops alongside society as either a mirror to or an influence over the society in which it is produced. This was true of the music produced by composers of the mid-eighteenth century in Britain.

In 1749, Handel was commissioned to produce a set of musical compositions to accompany the Royal Fireworks display on the River Thames. This exhibition was scheduled to mark the end of the war of the Austrian succession. The music is very jubilant, beginning in G-Major with a fanfare from the cornos, trombas, violins, and oboes. The melody is a very simple one that moves progressively in steps up the G-Major scale to a triumphant peak and then back down then finally followed by a fanfare.[5] The music was commissioned for the occasion and attracted individuals to the music creating a feeling and sense of British identity by those in the society in which it was composed. The groups of individuals who attended this cultural display were captivated by the music and would have felt a sense of national pride as a collective, unified by the victory of the war of the Austrian succession. Handel, through his artistry, was able to capture the essence and feeling of Britain after the war for Austrian succession. This music captured the spirit of British society and government after this event. This particular piece of music is just one example of music that was produced in British society that displayed the

---

[4] Kirsten E. Wood, "'Join with Heart and Soul and Voice': Music, Harmony, and Politics in the Early American Republic," *American Historical Review 119*, no. 4 (October, 2014): 1083-1085. For more on the development of eighteenth century music in society see; H. C. Robbins Landon, ed., *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Music: A Tribute to Karl Geiringer on his Seventieth Birthday* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970), Richard Leppert, *Music and Image: Domesticity, Ideology and Socio-Cultural Formation in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

[5] G.F. Handel, Friedrich Chrysander, ed., *Firework-Music* (Leipzig: Deutsche Handelgesellschaft, 1886).

feeling and changes within that context. Other music produced during the eighteenth century also provide context to the changing economic, political, and cultural developments in England. One such composition was the Oratorio *Messiah* by George Frideric Handel. This piece was a representation of the religion and politics of the eighteenth century. The culture in which *Messiah* was composed was a society focused on morality taught by religion.[6] Music was greatly influenced by society, but it also provided an influence. Music offered an outlet for change in society where musicians and artists could offer their voice.

In the eighteenth century, for example, as the production of concerts of music shifted from the country and external performance areas to cities and concert halls, the form of music also shifted. This transformation was often influenced by politics, society and changes in the conditions of the physical world. Absolute music, music fashioned by composers and musicians in an effort to create the ideal soundscape in a particular form (sonata, quartet, and the symphony), was utilized to explore expressions of nature and the natural landscape.[7] The movement of influential centers of politics from the localities to the center of government in London precipitated this development. Concerts were produced in halls disconnecting music from the natural landscape in which it was once heard. The external "noises," such as the wind, birds, and water were no longer heard in conjunction with the music that was being produced in concert halls.[8] To account for the movement of music to the concert hall, composers began to produce compositions that incorporated natural sound elements. For example, in Handel's work *L'Allegro ed il Penseroso,* the sounds of birds, dogs, the rolling grass of the hills, and the sounds

---

[6] Ruth Smith, *Handel's Oratorios and Eighteenth-Century Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 7-9.

[7] Schafer, *The Soundscape*, 103-104.

[8] For more on the music's imitation of nature see; Jean-Baptiste Du Bos, *Reflexions Critiques Sur La Poesie et sur La Peinture* (Paris: Chex Pierre-Jean Mariette, rue S. Jacquos., 1719), 409-418.

of the hunt are all heard in the music.[9] This attempt to capture the sounds described in the works of John Milton provides a context in which the composer attempted to capture the soundscape of the natural world for the listener. This was an effort that continued to grow in the eighteenth century with the development of concert music. Cultural productions such as music and concerts provided something to the soundscape of the society in which they were produced. By focusing on the "noise," the sound produced by a society, this chapter seeks to understand the development of a society.

The transition of music from the towns and private residence to the city and concert hall also developed during the eighteenth century in Britain.[10] To understand this transition, there must be a background to the production of these soundscapes in England beginning in 1700. Often thought of as an era and land without music, England is left out of the history of music in the eighteenth century by many scholars for not having produced anything worth studying.[11] This view has been developed and dominated by the fact that most of the music produced in Britain in the eighteenth century was either created or influenced by immigrants to Great Britain and not by natural British citizens. This dominating position can be seen in the works of Heinrich Heine, Guido Adler, and other nineteenth-century historians and musicologists who developed this ruling view. Though their works are considerable, they do not take into account the growing mercantile power of England which led to larger scale immigration and the development of London as the leading music center in Europe. In the 1700s, music became so important to the musical life of London that it became the music publishing center of the world

---

[9] G.F. Handel, *L'Allegro, il Pensieroso, ed il Moderato, edited by Friedrich Chrysander* (Leipzig: Stich und Druck von Breitkopf & Hartel, 1859).

[10] Jacques Attali, *Nosie: The Political Economy of Music*, trans., Brian Massumi, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1985), 3-7.

[11] Peter Holman, "Eighteenth-Century English Music: Past, Present, Future," in *Music in Eighteenth-Century Britain,* edited by David Wyn Jones (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000): 1.

and the leading harpsichord manufacturer.[12] Productions of music in this early period were considerably disorganized and often seen more for the tavern than for the hall.

In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, public concerts of music were produced in taverns, warehouses, coffee houses and other public arenas. Prior to the 1700s, concerts were often only produced by those fortunate to have the means to pay for concerts. This would include the patronage of musicians, and composers, and access to a large space for the concert. The nobility were often the patrons of the arts who had the fortunes to spend on entertainment, such as music and the production of concerts. The nobility were patrons to artists in an effort to bring music into their homes and lives (as discussed in chapter 1). Concerts such as these were often held in the halls of the aristocracy and other wealthy elite. [13] According to scholars such as Richard Leppert, this disparity in concert access stems from the division of the population. In 1700, "nearly eighty per cent lived in the countryside, and almost ninety per cent were employed in agriculture or in the processing of agricultural products."[14] The majority of the population, because of their status, was kept from concert life, not having access or the ability to afford such luxuries. Between 1700 and 1750, this gap would diminish and allow for others of different classes to support music. The transition in the British economy and the growth of a gentry and a new middle class would help the development of performing art.[15] With the decline in the aristocracy and the growth of the "public sphere," there came a growth in the public concert.

---

[12] Holman, "Eighteenth-Century English Music: Past, Present, Future," *in Eighteenth-Century Britain,* edited by David Wyn Jones, 3.

[13] Susan Wollenberg and Simon McVeigh, eds., *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 1-2.

[14] Roy Porter, *English Society in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Penguin Books, 1990), 67-68.

[15] Leppert, *Music and Image,* 9-12.

The concerts in the early 1700s took place in a variety or venues and were all very much unorganized. The areas for these concerts were such places as the "bung hole above Thomas Britton's coal warehouse in Clearkenwell, where those 'willing to take a hearty Sweat' heard some of the best music in London."[16] This growth in production of concerts is often attributed to the Restoration of Charles II and the continued growth of London after 1660. This period of development sprang forward under William III and Mary with the growing desire for entertainment that was often restricted under the Puritan regime of the Commonwealth. The growing economy also provided a path for success of the public concerts that were being produced in London. This commercialization of music provided access to music outside of the royal homes of patrons and into the market where the demand for musicians was growing.[17] The increased demand for concert music was stimulated by the demand for concerts by the elite, which spurned a trend to open access to musical endeavors for others to concerts and artistic displays. Musical growth, especially the development of many amateur musicians, made England one of the leading producers of music in Europe with more musicians regularly part of public performances than in most others countries.[18] The music that was performed by amateur musicians was of the music of composers such as John Eccles, Henry Purcell, and G.F. Handel.[19]

In the public concerts that developed in the early 1700s, music was often part of the background of a larger event. In Fanny Burney's novel, *Cecilia*, the central character observes that "no one of the party but herself had any desire to listen, no sort of attention was paid; the

---

[16] Wollenberg and McVeigh, eds., *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, 1. For more on the early London concerts see; Hugh A. Scott, "London Concerts from 1700 to 1750," *Musical Quarterly*, 24 (1938): 194-209; Michael Tilmouth, "A Calendar of References to Music in Newspapers Published in London and the Provinces (1660-1791)," *RMARC*, 1 (1961): 1-107.

[17] Ehrlich, *The Music Profession in Britain since the Eighteenth Century*, 3-5.

[18] Jones, 4-5.

[19] Michael Tilmouth, "The beginnings of provincial concert life in England," in *Music in Eighteenth-Century England: Essays in Memory of Charles Cudworth,* edited by Christopher Hogwood and Richard Luckett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 1-4.

ladies entertaining themselves as if no Orchestra was in the room."[20] Though this novel was created to remark on a later time, it holds true for much of the 1700s and the description of concert attendance. This form of concert production was seen by some as unstructured and decentralized, with musical form but without its own importance. The concerts were not produced for the elites' enjoyment of music, but as a type of background "noise" to provide a second stimulant to an event. Music used as background setting provided a suitable atmosphere for those who wanted to attend events and festivals and enjoy sweet sounds beyond the rough noise of the occasion.[21] These concerts occasionally accompanied annual fairs in London and across England and at wells and spas. One such spa was the "Miles's Musick House," which provided free treatment to the poor in the medical wells at Islington. Music was not the only entertainment provided: there was also sword-swallowing, dancing, and the eating of live roosters. The music at these events was not performed for the enjoyment of the music, nor were they set-up as separate concerts, but always accompanied some form of entertainment.[22]

Concerts in early eighteenth-century England developed from background music to what we would think of as concerts of music with the development of music societies and a greater appreciation for the works of composers such George Frideric Handel. Handel's works were very popular beginning with his arrival in London in 1710 and his permanent residency in 1712. This marked not only the beginning of Handel's English period leading to his taking British citizenship, but also to a new wave in music. When Prince George became King George I in 1714, the King doubled the pension provided to Handel and began an era of patronage to the arts.

---

[20] From Fanny Burney, *Cecilia*, 5 vols (London: Printed for T. Payne, 1782) as quoted in Wollenberg and McVeigh, eds., *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, 2.

[21] Clyve Jones, ed., *Party Management in Parliament, 1660-1784* (Leicester: Leicester University Perss, 1984), 4-5; Wollenberg and McVeigh, eds., *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, 75-77.

[22] Tilmouth, "The Beginnings of Provincial Concert Life in England," in *Music in Eighteenth-Century England: Essays in Memory of Charles Cudworth*, 3.

In 1719, the Royal Academy of Music was founded for which Handel composed around thirteen operas. Handel found great success in England and began to study the great English composers of the past, including Henry Purcell. Handel focused on creating musical compositions that would align to the musical tastes of the English people. His first attempt were his *Acis,* which were English masques in which were pastoral operas with no dancing and emphasis placed on the chorus and sung throughout the piece. Following this would be Handel's contribution to the English music, the oratorio. The English oratorio as created by Handel combined many western musical elements, including "the Italian *opera seria* and *oratorio volgare*, the choral style exhibited in his Latin psalms composed during his Italian period, the German oratorio, the French classical drama, the English masque, and English choral music."[23] The oratorios created by Handel required proper staging and room for a larger group of performers, thereby moving the performances to the center of the event. These performances were now the reason for people to gather. The public concert developed from background noise to a spectacle in its own right.

Influences of the opera on politics and vice versa place the social and political culture of Britain in context for the eighteenth century, displaying the audiences' connection to politics. The music created by Handel for his operas and oratorios was chosen for its religious and political meanings that could connect the music to his English audiences. We usually understand England during the early eighteenth century as a conflict between Whigs and Tories in government. This theory of government was revised in the 1960s by Lewis Namier and others who proposed that instead of a conflict between Whig and Tory ideologies there existed an administration party and an opposition.[24] In this system, politicians were influenced by their familial connections, self-interest, religion, society, and the aspirations for power. Following the

---

[23] Howard E. Smither, *A History of the Oratorio: The Oratorio in the Baroque Era Protestant Germany and England*, vol. 2 (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1977), 178-179.
[24] Lewis Namier, *England in the Age of the American Revolution*, 179-182.

"Namier Revolution," in the 1960s historians would establish the basic principle that from 1689 to 1715 there did exist a party struggle between Whig and Tory, which did become one-sided after the ascension of George I.[25] This did not change the second and crucial part of Namier's thesis, that there were external influences that contributed to the political struggle that existed in England.[26] This conflict in government developed with the growth of Handel's operas and oratorios from 1719-1742. The music that was produced during this period displayed the connection between partisan politics and music. The prominent form of music was the opera.

The operatic works of Handel produced during the 1710s to 1720s often took a partisan political position. One such work was Handel's *Teseo* completed in December of 1712 and first performed in London in January 1713. The opera focuses on the story of Theseus, a foreign prince, and Agilea, the princess of King Egeus, who are joined in matrimony, against the wishes of King Egeus and Medea the enchantress. This is the tale of the virtue of love and its triumph over evil.[27] This was a common theme of the eighteenth century, the questions of morality and the importance of justice were often displayed in works of the period. As in the ages since the Reformation, the question that many individuals in Britain struggled with centered on the issue of religion. There were those who still followed the Catholic faith, many who were Protestant, and still others who had moved away from the faith. Handel, the Duke of Leeds, and other elite individuals saw this push away from religion as the cause for social immorality and injustice that was spreading throughout Britain. According to Ruth Smith, the growth in crime and immorality was equated to an increase in the concerns of the British elite on the fate of the country in

---

[25] For more on the development of the two-party theory of British government see Geoffrey Holmes, *British Politics in the Age of Anne* (London: Hambledon Press, 1987); J. H. Plumb, *The Growth of Political Stability in England, 1675-1725* (London: Macmillan, 1967); W. A. Speck, *Stability and Strife: England, 1714-1760* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1977).

[26] Thomas McGeary, *The Politics of Opera in Handel's Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 8-9.

[27] G.F. Handel, *Teseo* edited by Friedrich Chrysander (Leipzig: Stich und Druck von Breitkopf & Hartel, 1874).

regards to morality and justice were represented in the cultural productions of Britain, such as in the opera, oratorios, and music of the period.[28] In *Teseo*, the connection with morality cuts deeper into society by presenting parallels between the main characters and influential or nationally recognized individuals in eighteenth-century British society. The approach to connecting operatic characters to contemporary political players has been labeled "tagging" by Paul Monod. Monod argues that the operas of Handel not only provided insight into the politics of society, but also displayed the very omnipresent influence of eighteenth-century politics on music.[29] In using this approach with the opera *Teseo*, connections can be drawn between Theseus, the foreign prince and William III of Great Britain, and between Egeus, King of Athens, and James II. The importance of this connection stems from the political disputes in Britain at the time of the opera's performance

In January 1713, the popular political topic of the time was the peace with France and the Hanoverian right to the British succession. The Hanoverian succession had been settled by law, but was not necessarily popular. Peace with France was seen by many in government, Whigs especially, as a disgrace to Hanover and their allies. Handel infuses multiple political issues into Teseo. By connecting William III with the character of Theseus, the hero of the opera, Handel seems to shape popular approval to the succession of the true Monarch. The hero of the opera receives his rightful place on the throne of Athens, as William III and Mary were rightful rulers of England. In the end of the opera, the chorus accepts the new ruler by the will of the people.[30] The political connections drawn into the opera by Handel were not only a reflection of the political scene of England in the eighteenth century, but also provided an arena in which politics

---

[28] Smith, *Handel's Oratorios and Eighteenth-Century Thought*, 9.
[29] Paul Monod, "The Politics of Handel's Early London Operas, 1711-1718," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History 36* (2006), 445-472.
[30] G.F. Handel, *Teseo*, edited by Friedrich Chrysander (Leipzig: Stich und Druck von Breitkopf & Hartel, 1874).

could be influenced. Handel's opera connects a story of Ancient Greece with Britain in an attempt to comment on the political life of England. If the opera was favorable and accepted by the audience, it had the ability to persuade and influence the audience's view on the succession of William III in a positive light. The operatic works of Handel often commented on the political life of England. The political aspects of his works also assisted in the decline of his music as many would see them as foreign and non-representative of the nation in which he composed.

In the later 1730s to 1740s, the music of Handel began to develop from a focus on the creation of operas to oratorios, reflecting the changes in British public opinion. In 1724, after Sir Robert Walpole effectively dashed the last of the opposing Sunderland-Stanhope faction, his last influential rivals, he had control over the Parliament and favor with the King.[31] The power that Walpole seemed to wield created dissent with many, including the self-exiled Henry St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke. Bolingbroke had fled to France in 1714 to avoid a trial after the Whigs took control of Parliament. While in exile he wished to return to England and on May 25, 1723, he received a pardon from King George allowing him to return. His only opposition to his return was Walpole, who fought to keep Bolingbroke from returning to his seat in the House of Lords.[32] Bolingbroke would enlist others who opposed Walpole in an effort to remove him from power and to re-enter the Lords. He began a fierce campaign with other Whigs such as Daniel Pulteney, Samuel Sandys, as well as some men of the gentry, clergy, and others in the City of London. Bolingbroke's attacks would take the form of pamphlets, satiric verse, ballads, newspapers, broadsides and cartoons. Within these writings, any opportunity to weaken Walpole's authority was taken. The overall message of many of these works presented the view

---

[31] See Archibald S. Ford, *His Majesty's Opposition, 1714-1830* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964); McGeary, *The Politics of Opera in Handel's Britain*, ch. 4.
[32] H. T. Dickinson, *Bolingbroke* (London: Constable, 1970). 179-180.

that Walpole's dismissal from government would restore the virtue and honor to the nation. Opera was caught in the crossfire of this jockeying for power.[33]

In the media campaign against Walpole, some of the top opposition was weighted against Italian opera, the style of Handel, as an agent of corruption and degradation created by the Walpole ministry. Many newspapers and journals cited opera as the major cause for the downfall of British morality. Journals like *Fog's Weekly Journal, Mist's Weekly Journal,* and *The Grub-street Journal* all attacked opera as the cause for the downfall of English society under Walpole, a major supporter of the arts. The major periodical that rallied against Walpole and opera was the *Craftsman*.[34] The *Craftsman* was founded in 1726 by William Pulteney and Lord Bolingbroke as a medium to present the view of the Tory opposition to the Whiggish Walpole Parliament. The editor of The *Craftsman* during the 1730s was Nicholas Amhurst, a poet and political pamphleteer who had written for both the Whigs and Tories in the early 1700s.[35] The *Craftsman* utilized satire and irony to evoke a feeling of distrust of Walpole and opera. In one article, the author mocks the import of Italian style opera into England at the expense of the government and the virtue of British culture and identity. The support of opera was equated to the British subjects' participation in the decline of the social and moral order of civilization.[36] Near the end of the 1730s, the *Craftsman* had created a climate in which the opposition used Italian opera and the Royal Academy of music as forms of political propaganda against Walpole and his government. Following this, Handel would turn to a focus on the composition of religious oratorios until his death.

---

[33] McGeary, *The Politics of Opera in Handel's Britain,* 97.

[34] For more on the *Craftsman* and its development see; William Arnall, *The Case of Opposition Stated, Between the Craftsman and the People* (London: Printed for J. Roberts, near the *Oxford-Arms* in Warwick-Lane, 1731).

[35] Arnall, *The Case of Opposition Stated, Between the Craftsman and the People,* 121-123.

[36] *Craftsman,* no. 588 (October 15, 1737); see also *Craftsman,* no 7 (December 26-30, 1726) *Craftsman,* no. 16 (January 23-27, 1727); *Craftsman,* no. 55 (July 22, 1727).

The oratorios that Handel composed spanned his entire career, but his later works were of a different style and quality. Following the campaign against Italian opera, Handel completed his last opera in 1741 and then turned his attention to the oratorio. The oratorios of the later 1740s to 1750s were infused with religious meaning composed to Anglican text that emanated from Protestant Christianity.[37] The biblical themes of the librettos set to music were inspiring to the Christian community and brought about a sense of community and British identity. His works were favored for their artistry and for dispelling the idea that the theater was a den of immorality and vice. This was a political topic that invaded all workings of government for the theater had the ability to affect the minds and well-being of the people; therefore it was a matter of national importance. The oratorio changed this opinion by presenting a work in the theater that was both morally just and provided examples of virtue from the bible. Many of Handel's critics even saw the music of Handel as like that of any art: "It belongs to Poetry only, to teach publick Virtue and publick Spirit."[38] His works were praised for their integrity and quality. This was also beneficial. In the late 1740s, Europe was ripe with war, and England faced many hardships at home, politically, economically, and socially, but Handel's oratorios provided a light. In many cases, the works such as *Deborah, Judas Maccabeus,* and *Joshua* were "adopted enthusiastically as symbolic of English integrity and courage."[39] As Linda Colley argues, Handel's oratorios provided a "sublime confidence," believing that Handel required his listeners to draw an obvious conclusion from his work, that "a violent and uncertain past was to be redeemed by the new and stoutly Protestant Hanoverian dynasty, resulting in an age of unparalleled abundance."[40] Handel's later works were taken by the newspapers and other public

---

[37] Smith, *Handel's Oratorios and Eighteenth-Century Thought*, 9.
[38] Smith, 53-55.
[39] Smith, 177.
[40] Colley, *Britons*, 31-33.

figures and sources as a rallying cry for the people to support English culture and music. The elites of society looked to Handel's work as truly British because of his use of British performers and a new British style of music he created. The *Dublin Journal* reported, "Our friend Mr Handell is very well… for the Publick will be no longer imposed on by Italian Singers, and some Wrong Headed Undertakers of bad Opera's, but find out the Merit of Mr Handell's composition and English Performances: The Gentleman is more esteemed now than ever."[41] This placed Handel and his oratorios as inspiring model for the British people far beyond anything that had been produced in his operas, but this would not continue through the century.

The works of Handel were highly praised during his life and his later works resonated with his audiences as works of the nation. Handel died in 1759, leaving very few if any contemporaries in his stead who could produce works on the scale and with public support as Handel. Though Handel's peers such as Thomas Arne, William De Fesch, John Christopher Smith, and Maurice Greene did produce oratorios in London, they did not captivate their audiences with the vigor of the English oratorio as created by Handel.[42] In the fifteen years following Handel's death, no other composer had matched the style and grandeur of the works of Handel in Britain. That is not to say that composers did not continue to produce, but very few of them produced anything that was a publicized as Handel's works. Music on the continent still flowed to Britain, and concerts as they had developed under Handel continued to be produced, but they did not connect to the British audience as had the works of Handel. The end of such provocative works was not the only issue faced in England at the end of the 1750s, but there was also a lack in the production of concerts as they had developed. The Royal Academy of Music, which produced many of the concerts at the Kings Theater, folded in 1730, around the Walpole

---

[41] As quoted in Smith, *Handel's Oratorios and Eighteenth-Century Thought*, 37.
[42] Smither, *A History of the Oratorio*, 358-360.

controversy, and many other music societies were also in decline. The majority of music societies' concert productions were at a peak in the late 1740s to 1750s, but accounts and newspaper notices show a decline after that period. This decline not only meant a decline in music production and performance, but a loss of a substantial cultural element to British society.[43]

As British society experienced a lull in musical development in the mid-eighteenth century, there began an awaking of another form of cultural productions. According to Simon McVeigh, the 1790s witnessed a growth in the "variety of musical entertainments [concerts] [that] far outstrip those of 1740s." He argues that these concerts were professional concerts which required patronage from the elite, who were then in a position to dictate the policy and structure of the concerts and music performed.[44] The elite held power of cultural decision making in the late eighteenth century, and within that scope they wielded the power to influence and dictate culture and its development. This led to a break between those who supported music of the "antient" type and those who support more modern music. The nobility were in a position to influence society not only politically and economically, but also culturally by deciding the music that would be heard by others in these formal concerts.

On either side, the concerts that were produced took place in buildings designed specifically to house concerts and theater. The concerts moved away from being background noise at other events to being spectacles in their own right. Michael Forsyth contends that the concert halls of the eighteenth century moved music from an informal event to a formal production that would influence the listeners through direct contact with the music. The patronage of these theaters was also important, displaying the grandeur and prestige of the hall

---

[43] Wollenberg and McVeigh, eds., *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, 48-51.

[44] Simon McVeigh, *Concert Life in London from Mozart to Haydn* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 5-7.

and the patron to have supported such a venture. In 1785, King George III gave royal patronage to the concert of antient music which later built a large hall build in 1794 on the Haymarket side of the King's Theater just for the concerts of antient music.[45] The power and influence of the concert surpassed that of many of the cultural productions during this period for their accessibility, prestige, and power to attract many in society. An influential series of concerts included the concert of antient music.

The concert of antient music series was founded in 1776, with the idea of providing an alternative to modern concerts. The programs for these concerts boasted the music of Handel, Corelli and other Baroque masters whose music had for some time fallen out of trend.[46] This concert series would later develop further as not just an effort to provide an open atmosphere to create concerts, but as a means to develop a cultural identity and develop the control of the elite in British society. According to Peter Holman, the concert of antient music was part of the Handel oratorio cult which sought to return to the past reflecting the desire in society to recall the style and forms of music that reflected a conservative English identity.[47] English leaders during the Napoleonic era, in a period of crisis, politically, economically, and culturally, sought to re-establish their culture and identity, and a major player in that fight was the use of music to establish that identity. In an effort to reclaim the past, many of the concerts of antient music utilized almost exclusively the music of Handel. One example would be the 1794 concerts of antient music which had 329 subscribers and was under the royal patronage of the Monarchy and a small group of nobility including the Duke of Leeds, the Earl of Chesterfield, Earl of Uxbridge, Lord Viscount Fitzwilliam, Lord Viscount Malden, and Lord Grey De Wilton, an prominent

---

[45] Michael Forsyth, *Buildings for Music: The Architect, the Musician, and the Listener from the Seventeenth Century to the Present Day* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 40.

[46] McVeigh, *Concert Life in London from Mozart to Haydn*, 7.

[47] Holman, "Eighteenth-Century English Music: Past, Present, Future," in *Music in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, 7-8.

political group that would yield influence.[48] This concert series boasted an array of Handel's works including *Judas Maccabeus, Samson, and Belshazzer*, all influential oratorios as discussed above.[49] The music of these concerts of antient music would take on meaning not just as social events for the elite, but also as gatherings for influential Members of Parliament to exchange this cultural production for political power or influence, a form of political currency.[50]

The eighteenth century was a time of change politically, socially, and culturally for Great Britain and Europe. The production of culture and its uses in British society transformed not only British culture, but also politics. The soundscape of the nation was developing along with the music that was produced in Britain, having an influence on British society. In every aspect of daily life, music could be heard and in the seventeenth century it began to become formalized. In 1700, music was a secondary player to many of the aspects of social life, being performed in the background at taverns or festivals or in church. With the development of Italian Opera and other such stand-alone musical forms, music became an important cultural production. Concert halls soon followed the growth and popularity of musical performances. The works of George Frideric Handel were the major influences for the development of a place to perform his works. The halls were important gathering places for audiences to assemble and experience music which often contained social or political commentary. This growth and development experienced a short lull in the mid-eighteenth century after the death of Handel, with very few contemporaries to take his place. The music that had once been associated with British identity and culture was set aside.

---

[48] See chapter 4 of this thesis further discussion of the Concerts and their uses.
[49] "Concerts of Antient Music, under the Direction of His Grace the Duke of Leeds," February 5, 1794, (London: Printed for W. Lee, 1794).
[50] See chapter 1.

Music that exemplified the English spirit in Britain experienced a decline caused by the American war for Independence and other political, economic, and social issues. During this period many sought to recapture the society and identity of Britain as it was exemplified in the late 1740s. The concerts of antient music, founded in 1776, were begun impart to re-create the sense of British identity from the early eighteenth century. At this time, there was also a need for political support and patronage of these concerts of antient music. Influential individuals such as the Duke of Leeds and other nobility supported these concerts, but they sought to use their influence to obtain votes and political patronage. By supporting music that espoused a British identity, something that many Lords and gentry sought, the patrons were providing a service to the audience. In return these men, including the Duke of Leeds, sought to increase their leadership role. In the case of the Duke of Leeds this was political support for the provision of a concert of antient music. The development of politics in Britain during the eighteenth century is the focus of discussion in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 3

POLITICS AND CULTURE OF A NATION: THE DEVELOPMENT OF PARLIAMENT AND ITS USE OF CULTURE

> I love and respect the People, I wish their Prosperity upon every Occasion: The Constitution has clearly pointed out the proper Mode by which they may be served, and they are too sensible of the Benefits they derive under it not to be jealous of its Preservation: And I will trust to their understandings, that they are convinced their present Calamities do not originate from any fault inherent in the Constitution, but from the bad administration of Government. Of this, I trust, the People are convinced, … to insinuate they perpetually labor, yet I cannot but wish them to be awake to their own Interest, so far as to avoid the other extreme which so frequently proves fatal.[1]
>
> -Francis Osborne, 5th Duke of Leeds, 1781

In Britain, the eighteenth century was a period of great development, not only economically, culturally, and socially, but also politically. Scholars have difficulties defining this period because change does not occur in a defined space around two dates (i.e. 1700-1800 for the eighteenth century). The years 1688, the time of the Glorious Revolution, to 1832, the year of the first Reform Act, are the most useful sign posts defining the political developments of the "long" eighteenth century, especially for understanding the growth in the party system of governance. This period of time provides a framework for understanding the developments in the political realm of Britain. For the purpose of this chapter, two other important dates are the Act of Unification in 1707 and the Hanoverian Succession of 1714; these dates are the

---

[1] Francis Osborne,"A Letter to the Individual Members of both Houses of Parliament," (London: Printed for R. Faulder, New Bond-Street, 1782), 12-13.

foundations for the political ethos which will be discussed.[2] Historically, this period has been perceived as an era of stability in governance. Historians have often focused on the developments outside of Britain in the eighteenth century, and when focusing on Britain, the emphasis is often on the House of Commons and on the development of society from the bottom. As discussed in the previous chapter, the development of concerts of antient music is one cultural production that influenced society and politics. This chapter will discuss a particular member of the House of Lords and the development of society and politics from a top down analysis.

The period of 1770-1800 was pivotal for the growth of the House of Lords, the growth of a British identity, and the development of culture in Britain. During the "long" eighteenth century, revolutions, a two-party system, and cultural developments such as music, concerts, and social activities facilitated the development of a distinct British culture from within the House of Lords for the whole of British society. The Members of Parliament (MPs) in this period held a powerful role in government, providing opportunities for change and development in British society. Many historians have argued the role of the Lords and their positions in regards to governance as mere players with no real influence. The inter-hierarchical structure of their positions as agents of the state and patrons of the arts will show that Members of the House of Lords held more power and influence in society than previously thought, building the path for change in Britain. The Lords' role not only infused culture into politics by providing patronage to the arts, but individuals used culture in politics as a form of currency to help affect the politics of Britain and their own political positions. Such examples included the use of music and concerts of music by Lords, providing access to concert entertainment to other Lords and Members of Parliament in return for their political support. The influence of the struggle

---

[2] John Cannon, "The Nobility Ascendant: The Hanoverian Settlement: 1714-1832," in *The House of Lords: A Thousand Years of British Tradition*, edited by Smith's Peerage Limited (London: Smith's Peerage, 1994), 98-108.

between a two-party system also led to a growth in the Independent Members of Parliament in an effort to increase the power and control of Parliament through culture.[3]

The eighteenth century was not the first period for the concept of the development of a British identity and "Britishness" to begin, but it took on a new life and meaning in this period focused around the development of what it meant to be a citizen of the British Isles.[4] The concept of developing a British identity as a separate culture and character from the continent flowed from the elite classes of the Isle.[5] For many Britons, such as Lord Holland, Britishness was the idea of the superiority economically, socially, and politically of the British people and nation over the rest of the world. This concept of British identity would develop through the eighteenth century as individuals would connect certain cultural aspects with their identity such as music, art literature, and concerts. The efforts put forth during the century to unify society through Parliament included using cultural productions as political currency.[6]

The "long" eighteenth century is often distinguished by scholars as the period encompassing revolutions, an era of monumental changes in politics, governance, society, and culture. For the study of politics and governance, the eighteenth century is defined as such for the events that occurred in 1688, which outlined the path and development of British governance. The Glorious Revolution of 1688 and the enactment of the English Bill of Rights by an Act of Parliament in 1689 founded a period of continued constitutional power.[7] The Act provided that Parliament met regularly and gave many liberties to the members, including the right to elections

---

[3] Linda Colley, "The Politics of Eighteenth-Century British History," *Journal of British Studies* 25, no. 4 (October, 1986): 367-368; John Cannon, *Aristocratic Century: The Peerage of Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).

[4] Colley, *Britons*, 164-165.

[5] Henry Edward Lord Holland, *Memoirs of the Whig Party during My Life Time*, vol. 2, 1852 (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1854), 1-3; Cannon, *Aristocratic Century,* 48-50.

[6] Colley, *Britons*, 170-172.

[7] Corinne Comstock Weston, *English constitutional Theory and the House of Lords 1556-1832* (Routledge, 2011), 77-79.

and free speech in Parliament, while reinforcing settled civil liberties, such as the freedom from cruel and unusual punishment.[8] Linda Colley argues that this period, the Revolution Settlement, is successfully known as the "long" eighteenth century for the growth in national art, architecture, music, print culture, finance, and fashion.[9] This period saw the growth of the British state in efficiency and size from the considerable economic and political strides that had been made in the nation. According to J.H. Plumb, this development in the system of government and the appearance of political stability after 1688 stemmed from the years of rebellion, treason, and conspiracy that preceded this generation. The changes in politics and society created the appearance of stability, which overpowered the disruption and development in the eighteenth century.[10]

The House of Lords and other members who filled the legislative branch of Parliament had increased roles with greater powers of administration that broadened with the changes in British society. During this period, the print culture of British society expanded along with finance, commercial enterprise, art, and architecture. The newspapers were influential to members in society for providing information on the government and their developments. With this growth of information dispersion, the system of the British state grew with legitimization from the economic and political power that the government wielded for the benefit of the nation. Though the country faced revolutions from internal sources with increasing Jacobite resistance and the American War for Independence, and external, such as the French Revolution, the country's political institutions strengthened and projected its power overseas.[11] The individual

---

[8] For more on the 1689 English Bill of Rights see, Weston, *English Constitutional Theory and the House of Lords 1556-1832*.; Mark Goldie and Robert Wokler, eds., *The Cambridge History of Eighteenth-Century Political Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

[9] Colley, "The Politics of Eighteenth-Century British History," 360.

[10] Plumb, *The Growth of Political Stability in England*.

[11] Colley, "The Politics of Eighteenth-Century British History," 359-379.

Members of the House of Lords not only participated in the development of a more active government, but also contributed to the development of British culture. Many members, such as the Duke of Leeds, utilized music, a form of cultural production, to influence governance and their political standing. They supported concerts for the public and other Lords, with the expected return of a favorable vote in Parliament or even political positions granted by the King. The Members of the House of Lords who also acted as patrons of the arts reaped the benefits of the influence that culture and the development of a sense of Britishness could have on their office. This chapter will examine the role of one particular Members of Parliament in the House of Lords and the development of governance around culture. In particular, the focus of this present discussion focuses on the importance of the aristocracy in the political system and the growth of those labeled Independent Members of Parliament who fought the two-party system in an effort to reclaim a national identity through culture.

Most historians of the eighteenth century who focus on the struggle in a two-party system concentrate on the House of Commons with little attention to the Monarch or to the House of Lords. Looking at this development in the system of governance, historians have often focused on the Commons and the development of representation, lacking a serious focus on the House of Lords and its membership. Some attention has been paid to the 1780s and the Rockinghamites, an aristocratic party, which struggled with George III to disentangle his influence over Parliament. John Cannon's work on the aristocracy's influence sheds new light on the continuing strength and power of the House of Lords, considering the importance that money rather than birth had over politics in aristocratic society.[12] After the Glorious Revolution, historians have written of the leading figures in Parliament as coming from the House of

---

[12] Cannon, *Aristocratic Century*, 5-8.

Commons, often portrayed as leaders and influential figures able to effect change.[13] However, the House of Lords and the King still held considerable power in this three-body system of government. The Lords held influence in government and society on a scale equal to the Commons and their members utilized this in the development of a British identity along with government and culture.[14]

The aristocracy and the House of Lords continued to play an important role in the governance of the nation during the eighteenth century. The peers of the 1700s distinguished themselves from others in society by their positions in the House of Lords. The nobility consisted of a small enough group to be able to maintain power and to have a vested sense of control in government.[15] During the eighteenth century there was an increase in the number of Lords many of them flocked to London in an attempt to solidify their standing and power in society. The peerage, totaling no more than 1,003 during the eighteenth century, was not hampered by their relatively small number but instead proved influential in the governance of the state. This migration to London also included the aristocracy of Wales, Scotland, and Ireland who hoped to infuse the British power structure with wealth, influence, and power at the center in an effort to unify Britain.[16] The significance of this shift to the center is represented by the strength of the House of Lords as a form of defense against royal despotism. Though the rights and role of the House of Commons and Lords grew during the eighteenth century, the Lords continued to hold a position between the common man and the Monarch. Francis Osborne, Fifth

---

[13] For a detailed look at this struggle in the localities see Bob Harris and Jeremy Black "John Tucker, M.P., and Mid-Eighteenth-Century British Politics," *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies* 29, no. 1 (Spring, 1997): 15-38.

[14] Jan Albers, "'Papist traitors' and 'Presbyterian rouges': Religious Identities in Eighteenth-Century Lancashire," in *The Church of England c. 1689-c.1833*, edited by John Walsh, Colin Haydon, and Stephen Taylor (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 317-319; Linda Colley, "Whose Nation? Class and National Consciousness in Britain 1750-1830," *Past & Present*, no. 113 (November, 1986): 97-117.

[15] Cannon, *Aristocratic Century*, 10.

[16] Colley, *Britons*, 156-157.

Duke of Leeds, was one of these Lords who set up residence in London even when sessions of Parliament were not meeting. The importance of his establishment in London displayed the importance of the nobility to the Monarchy as an intermediary to the Commons and people of England. While in London, Leeds established a connection with the Royal House. He was established as Lord of the Bedchamber, Lord Chamberlain of the Queen's Household, and Member of the Privy Council in 1777. These positions, as well as a seat in the House of Lords, would establish his connection with the Monarchy and the Commons of Parliament. With his position, Leeds was able to put forth efforts to influence the Members of Parliament and the royal household. One such method to enact changes was the production of concerts. These concerts were meant by Leeds to provide cultural entertainment to individuals with the expected return of political votes in the House of Lords and Commons and important positions in the royal household.[17] Through diverse means, the Lords and other Lords continued to play significant roles in Parliament, though there continued to be divisions in the parties of Parliament.

The growth and development of Independent Interest would also undermine the two-party theory. Francis G. Osborne, Fifth Duke of Leeds, is one example of a Member of Parliament who continued to struggle for the Independent Members of Parliament and the rights of government beyond the two-party system. This two-party system would last well into the 1790s and would be cause for great debate in both the House of Commons (Commons) and the House of Lords (House). The struggle between the parties in government would subtly change the roles of Members of Parliament as the Parliament became increasingly active in an effort to strengthen the power of administration at the center while localism eroded.[18]

---

[17] Oscar Browning, ed. *The Political Memoranda of Francis Fifth Duke of Leeds. Now First Printed From the Originals in the British Museum* (London: The Camden Society, 1884).
[18] Colley, "The Politics of Eighteenth-Century British History," 371-372.

After the Act of Settlement of 1701, and formalized by the Hanoverian Succession of 1714, Britain witnessed a period of rapid Parliamentary constitutional development. Prior to 1707, there developed a two-party system in England beginning around 1688. The major parties in the British Parliamentary system were the Whigs and the Tories. [19] Both groups could be distinguished from each other for the view that each party espoused. Historically, the Whigs were seen as the defenders of liberty and holders of a view of a Monarchy with restricted powers. The Tories were often those loyal to the Monarchy and to upholding the rights of the Church of England.[20] American and British historians of the "long" eighteenth century developed different histories on the development of the struggle between these two parties. J.G.A. Pocock and Caroline Robbins focused on reconstructing Whig ideologies and representations in history. The British historians W.A. Speck and Linda Colley focused more on the struggle between the Whigs and the Tories and their positions on the constitution, foreign policy, religion, and society.[21] According to Eveline Cruickshanks, this dialectic between Whigs and Tories began in the late seventeenth century, facilitating constitutional changes to establishe the supremacy of Parliament through the rights that Parliament received after the revolution of 1688. According to John Brewer, the Monarch's demand for more funding could only be addressed through Parliament which led to the more frequent sessions of Parliament.[22] The longer and more frequent sessions of Parliament enabled a greater debate to take place between the two houses. The lower house

---

[19] Colley, "The Politics of Eighteenth-Century British History," 366.

[20] David Hayton, Eveline Cruickshanks, and Stuart Handley, eds., *The House of Commons, 1690-1715* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 462-464.

[21] John Brewer, *Party Ideology and Popular Politics at the Accession of George III* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976); J G A. Pocock, *Politics, Language, and Time: Essays On Political Thought and History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989); Caroline Robbins, *The Eighteenth-Century Commonwealthman: Studies in the Transmission, Development, and Circumstance of English Liberal Thought from the Restoration of Charles II Until the War with the Thirteen Colonies* (Indianapolis, Ind.: Liberty Fund, 2004); W.A. Speck, *The Divided Society: Parties and Politics in England 1694-1716* (London: St. Martin's Press, 1967).

[22] John Brewer, *The Sinews of Power: War, Money, and the English State, 1688-1783* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990), 145-146.

began to examine the actions of the Monarch and the upper house. In turn this strengthened the separation between Whigs and Tories creating a more hostile and anxious Parliament.[23] This period was followed by an era of dominance by the Tory party and localism during the resurgence in the 1770s of the Tory party.[24] As Linda Colley shows this political struggle between two parties did not diminish socially and politically by the 1720s, but instead continued well into the 1790s. Colley argues that the Tory party survived and helped to organize some populist strategies during the late 1740s.[25] As Susan Sommers argues, this clear Whig-Tory system was the dominant party system before 1714 and dictated the politics of England, effecting all change.[26]

Political conflict between the two parties in Parliament developed beyond constitutional rights and it looked as if it would create a major break in government. In the 1780s, there began a movement for Independent Members of Parliament who sought not to align themselves with any party. These members wanted to return to politics and government which pursued the best for the public welfare.[27] Leeds was one member of the House of Lords who saw the problem of factions and "called upon them [other members] in the strongest tho' most respectful manner to take an active part in the business of the nation, and not sacrifice everything to the violence of the contending parties."[28] In the late 1700s, many, including those in Parliament, saw the failure

---

[23] Christopher Reid, *Imprison'd Wranglers: The Rhetorical Culture of the House of Commons, 1760-1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 5-7.

[24] Susan Sommers, *Parliamentary Politics of A County and Its Town: General Elections in Suffolk and Ipswich in the Eighteenth Century* (Westport: Praeger, 2002), 176-178. See also, Eveline Cruickshanks, Stuart Handley, and David Hayton, eds., *The History of Parliament. The House of Commons 1690-1715* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

[25] Linda Colley, *In Defiance of Oligarchy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982); see also; Gary Stuart De Krey, *A Fractured Society: The Politics of London in the First Age of Party* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), Pocock, "Radical Criticisms of the Whig Order in the Age between Revolutions," in *The Origins of Anglo-American Radicalism*, edited by Margaret Jacob and James Jacob.

[26] Cruickshanks, *The House of Commons, 1690-1715.*; Sommers, *Parliamentary Politics of A County and Its Town*, 175-177.

[27] Cannon, *Aristocratic Century*, 8-10.

[28] Browning, ed. *The Political Memoranda of Francis Fifth Duke of Leeds*, 51.

of the government in the divided system of parties. The Duke of Leeds believed that the division had come at a price, the dismantling of Parliament and the failure of the system to work for the public welfare.[29]

The feeling of division between parties in Parliament was common during the 1780s and 1790s, and many such as the Duke of Leeds would seek to rectify the situation in Britain by appealing to the individual's sense of Britishness and decency. According to Leeds, the duty of Parliament as the legislative arm of government was to use their "important Powers you possess—apply them to the great, the laudable Purposes of National Preservation: and while your Example corrects, convince your fellow Subjects, that no Influence, whether secret or avowed, can deter the Real Friends of their Country, from a firm and vigilant conduct in the pursuit of those Measures, on which, not only the Reputation, but the Safety of the Empire depends."[30] The division in Parliament, according to some, had led to calamity and a loss of sensibility of the people. The loss of the nation's independence was at stake with the war on the continent and the threat of invasion of England. This was even more potent a threat with the riots in London in June 1780; it was feared that this weakness at home would lead to the destruction of national character and morality, and the growth of threat from the continent for invasion.[31] These threats were seen as the developments of the divisions in both Houses of Parliament caused by stiff and zealous party affiliates seeking to align with their interests. According to Leeds, this was an unacceptable position of the Houses of Parliament in a time of war and revolution when the "Hands of Government should be strengthened."[32] These issues even swept over into the localities where division in Parliament had caused issues at home. In a study by Susan Sommers,

---

[29] Reid, *Imprison'd Wranglers*.

[30] Francis Osborne, "A Letter to the Individual Members of both Houses of Parliament" (London: Printed for R. Faulder, New Bond-Street, 1782), 25-26.

[31] Osborne, "A Letter to the Individual Members of both Houses of Parliament," 2-4.

[32] Osborne, "A Letter to the Individual Members of both Houses of Parliament," 5.

the division of Parliament is seen on the local level in the case of Suffolk as a lack of hierarchy in the central government. The bankruptcies, food shortages, and revolts increased during the late eighteenth century. As Sommers argues, this was caused by a decline in the importance of the localities in general governance, as influenced by the lack of centrality at the center in Parliament.[33] The MPs in Parliament worked to amend the perceived feeling of disconnection in British society. Some individual members uses culture as a means to fix the feeling of disconnect in society.

The use of culture by the Members of the House of Lords often served a dual purpose, as a unifying bond between the members and society and for the personal positions of the members who utilized the cultural productions. The House of Lords is of particular interest not only because of the lack of scholarship on the Lords after the Glorious Revolution, but also for the important role that the Lords continued to play throughout the eighteenth century. The influence and power of the House of Lords to influence society has often been left out of the general narrative of eighteenth-century history. This work develops from the theories of Lewis Namier on the interconnected structure of patronage as a force that influenced power and authority. According to Namier, eighteenth-century society was dictated by kinship connections and patronage, which therefore determined political power and authority. This grew with the increased strength of the independent Members of Parliament and the loss of political patronage based on kinship connections.[34] These connection were neither as strong nor as influential in the latter half of the eighteenth century and gave way to the use of culture to create these connections. The Lords is of particular interest to understanding the growth of culture as political currency. During the eighteenth century, Members of the House of Lords utilized

---

[33] Sommers, *Parliamentary Politics of a County and Its Town*, 5-9.

[34] Lewis Namier, *The Structure of Politics at the Accession of George III* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1957); see also Plumb, *The Growth of Political Stability in England 1675-1725*.

culture in an effort to reestablish political and social connections, which led to actual growth in power of the Lords and not their diminishing position in respect to the House of Commons. The Lords not only used music to establish this political strength; newspapers were another form of cultural productions that Lords used to influence and spread their positions.

In the latter period of the eighteenth century, newspapers were one means by which members would voice their positions on the government and the state of the nation. One of the influential papers was the *London Evening Post*. The paper developed as a political press that had a wide-reaching audience. The importance of this paper lies in its ability to reach the provincial presses providing information of Parliament to the people. It was once said to be "the most publick channel of conveyance through Great Britain."[35] The use of the cultural production by members to distribute and to call attention to their views was often used. Other papers such as the *Morning Chronicle* also played an important role in the changing role of Parliament. More individuals had access to the information of what was being discussed in Parliament; therefore they had the ability to call into question Parliament and its actions. Members of Parliament entered a period of accountability that they faced with the readers and their views on Parliament's actions.[36] Though by some members this would seem as a detriment to the works of Parliament, it was beneficial to the members for the increased support it would lend to their cause and their tasks. As the Duke of Leeds discussed in his "Letter to the Independent Members of both Houses," it was the action of the government to work for the people in government to make for a unified and better Britain.[37] This was not the only form of cultural production that members utilized in an effort to strengthen their government or their roles within

---

[35] *London Evening Post,* 30 May-1 June 1754 as quoted in Bob Harris, "The London Evening Post and Mid-Eighteenth-Century British Politics" *The English Historical Review* 110, no. 439 (November, 1995): 1132.

[36] Reid, *Imprison'd Wranglers*, 9-10.

[37] Reid, *Imprison'd Wranglers*, 15.; Francis Osborne, "A Letter to the Individual Members of both Houses of Parliament."

the Parliamentary system; concerts of music were also effective means to connect and to influence other Members in Parliament.[38]

As discussed in the previous chapters, the eighteenth century was a period of advancement and development in the social and cultural establishment of Britain. This was also a period that was difficult to define and understand in the context of politics. The eighteenth century, often referred to as the "long" eighteenth century envelopes about a one hundred and fifty year period to incorporate important political developments into one period. The years 1688-1832 are often defined as the "long" eighteenth century for the political developments from the Glorious Revolution, through the Act of Unification, to the Reform Act. These important changes in the governmental structure of Britain affected the running of Parliament and the interaction between politics, culture, and society that developed. One hindrance to this system was the development of political parties that altered the state of politics in Britain. The Whigs and Tories were the two influential parties of the eighteenth century that controlled Parliament. The continuation of struggle between the governmental systems led to the growth of those labeled Independent Members of Parliament in an effort to increase the power and control of Parliament through culture. On the individual level, this sometimes meant the use of music to influence other Members of Parliament for support and for patronage from the king. The changing form and role of Parliament in an age of revolution, advancement, and improvement increased the need for members to use cultural productions in an effort to effect change in government and society. Cultural advances would also have their effect on the political progresses of the nation. In Britain, individuals such as Francis Godolphin Osborne, the 5th Duke of Leeds, would use culture in an effort to affect their political positions and their growths as members of the government.

---

[38] See chapter 4.

CHAPTER 4

THE DUKE OF LEEDS: PATRON OF POLITICAL CURRENCY

> The great patronize because they are great, not because
> they regard the object or need the assistance: and the vulgar
> cavil at their actions, not because those actions are bad, but
> because themselves are the vulgar: this is the liberty of
> English subjects...[1]
>
> -A Pamphletteer

In the midst of a wave of revolutions around the globe, the American Revolution in 1776 and the French Revolution from 1789-1799, the British were diverted to a new path of self-discovery and re-creation of their identity. After the American Colonies broke away from the Motherland, the British were left a great amount of debt and with a loss of the Empire. Some historians have argued that not only did the American war for Independence lead to destruction and loss to the British Empire, but is also slowed the path to the Industrial Revolution, which would have come earlier in the century if it had not been for war.[2] According to Stephen Conway, the growth of the British economy after the American war is seen only on a macroeconomic level, but if historians look beyond to the microeconomic level to "individuals and companies and even sectors of the economy," the war caused devastation to the British economy due to public borrowing, loss of overseas trade, and government spending.[3] The war had cost the British a great deal, not only monetarily, but in goods and material. The British lost near to 18 million pounds sterling in materials such as ships and property because of the war.

---

[1] [Steele, Richared?]. *The Prosperity of Britain Proved from the Degeneracy of its People: A Letter to the Rev. Dr. Brown, on His Estimate of Manners. With Some Thoughts on his Answerer in the Real Character.* London: Printed for R. Baldwin, in Pater-noster-Row, 1757. 42.

[2] T.S. Ashton, *Economic Fluctuations in England, 1700-1800* (London, 1959), 83. For more on the impact of the American Revolution on Britain, see; E.J. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Revolution, 1789-1848* (New York: The World Publishing Company, 1962), 40-43, Chapter 1; Stephen Conway, *The British Isles and the War of American Independence* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

[3] Stephen Conway, *The British Isles and the War of American Independence* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 46-47.

Before the war, the American colonies had been one of Britain's largest trading partners. At the close of the war, Britain felt the loss of this tie economically as there was less and less trade between the two nations. America, one of Britain's largest consumers, had destroyed the British economic system by ending one of the major sources of income for the Empire, thus creating turmoil and destruction for the British government. As late as 1782, British merchants could not safely cross the ocean to New York without fear of loss of cargo. There was also a considerable loss of land in North America and West Indies due to the war. British holdings were lost to the French and Americans, resulting in a loss of income from the properties that Britons held and in an overall economic loss.[4] Britain was left in a state of decay and suffering, losing much its status and power because of the difficulties that war had created.

Politically, the American Revolution caused a great stir in the system of governance in Britain. One of the primary concerns that sparked revolution was the authority of British Parliament in British North America. The British Parliament had defended it rights, power, and authority over British colonial possessions. The War with America would change the images and authority of British Parliament, not only with America, but in respect to Britain's other colonial belongings. With the acceptance of American Independence, the British Parliament and legislature were defeated in their claims to the authority over the American colonies. Not only did the British lose their claims to rule the colonies, but Parliament had passed the Renunciation Act in 1778 renouncing all its claims to tax British territories overseas. [5] This would have devastating effects on the government of the British Empire through Parliament, as other territories would see the weakness in Parliament and its authority. The British Isles would come

---

[4] John J. McCusker and Russell R. Menard, *The Economy of British America, 1607-1789* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985), 360-365; Conway, *The British Isles and the War of American Independence*, 48.
[5] Conway, *The British Isles and the War of American Independence*, 204.

to face challenges from the Dublin Parliament in Ireland, as the Irish would pursue efforts to gain British acceptance of Anglo-Irish home rule.[6] Following this desolation caused by the American War of Independence, the British would begin a search for reformation and restoration of not only their economy and political structure, but also their development of a national consciousness.

The French Revolution provided a model for the development of politics and ideology in the eighteenth century. According to E.J. Hobsbawm, "France provided the first great example, the concept and the vocabulary of nationalism," a philosophy that the British would soon use to their advantage in solidifying the nation politically.[7] After the American War of Independence and the following loss of Parliamentary control in Ireland and the British Empire, what it meant to be a British citizen changed. Not only were they struggling to find a solution to their monetary woes, the British were wrestling with a lack of connection to their uniqueness as their Empire was fading. The French Revolution, with its democratic ideologies and values, further divided the British system of governance. The rift consisted of the Loyalists who believed in the ancient values of the British Empire including property, the power of the Monarchy, and the Church, and the importance of social order. On the other side were the radicals who followed the ideals of democracy that flowed from the French Revolution. Britain was divided and the understanding of a homogenous British Empire was beginning to falter.[8] This disunity in the Parliament flowed through every segment of society, and the collective once known as the Great British Empire was being dismantled.

---

[6] P.J. Marshall, "Britain without America – A Second Empire?," in *The Oxford History of the British Empire: Volume II: The Eighteenth Century*, ed. P.J. Marshall (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 588-590.

[7] E.J. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Revolution, 1789-1848,* (New York: The World Publishing Company, 1962), 74-75.

[8] Carl B. Cone, *The English Jacobins Reformers in Late 18th Century England* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1968), 160.

Great Britain experienced a crisis of identity. The division created by the American War of Independence and the ideals of the French Revolution created a shift in the balance of power. This transferal of power began to favor the Gentry as they obtained more influence over the political system in Britain. Those in power in the House of Lords were struggling to maintain their power as many of the nobility had lost much of their wealth and influence in the previous decades.[9] After the decline of the upper class in Britain and the economic decline due to war costs, many nobles lost their wealth and their ability to provide for displays of their wealth and influence. The power of the lower House of Parliament grew, approaching that of the Monarch, and within that structure, the House of Commons began to show greater influence over matters of state. The rising elite, the gentry and powerful merchants, attained power and influence in government, far surpassing that of many in the House of Lords. The influence once held by the powerful Lords in Parliament was now held by the Commons and by the development of political parties as the influential bodies of power. The government of Britain and its people were not unified under one emblem; they had become identified by the affiliations that they held aside from being British. This crisis of identity and the movement of politics toward a multi-party system also influenced the system of patronage that had helped to define British identity and control politics and administration in the Empire.[10]

The nobility and officials in the House of Lords lost much of their wealth after the American Revolution. These toppled Lords no longer had the ability to provide shows of their power through wealth, which once had related to their legitimate power they held in the House of Lords. In years prior to the American Revolution, Lords of Great Britain provided shows of their power by presenting concerts in their homes. These concerts were private events open only to

---

[9] Clark, *English Society 1688-1832.*
[10] Conway, *The British Isles and the War of American Independence,* 203.

those with whom the Lord wanted to share their access to culture.[11] This not only provided a show of power to the Lord's friends and equals, but also to those below them. Knowledge of these concerts held by the Lords spread to the gentry and others in London and the country. When those in lower stations heard that a concert was being held in the home of a Lord, it was understood that the Lord must have a great deal of wealth to provide for these types of concerts.[12] In this time, the Lords did not provide these concerts to the people, but relied on rumor-mongering in order to increase their appearance of power. It was understood that those who provided for these concerts deserved respect. It was at great expense to the Lords to provide these concerts; thus when a Lord was able to provide such a display it merited notice.

The concerts required a great deal of money and influence to offer, not only to pay for the musicians, but also to provide the music from a composer and adequate space to house other respected Lords and dignitaries to experience a concert in the house of a Lord. This began with an aristocrat's patronage of a young musician, paying for his training and support of his career. These young musicians would develop into household musicians who would manage private concerts and teach family members within the household for which they worked.[13] This form of patronage was quite like the patronage of an individual to support him for political office. The term "patron" is often used to refer to an influential member of society, usually an aristocrat in the eighteenth century, who would use his power and influence to provide support, often financial, to help his family and friends gain political offices. The other meaning of the term "patron" is often associated with the providing of money in support of the arts, usually painting, music, and literature. In the early eighteenth century, these patrons supported musicians for their expertise and entertainment that they would provide to the household. To support this form of

---

[11] Rohr, *The Careers of British Musicians, 1750-1850*, 18.

[12] Rohr, *The Careers of British Musicians, 1750-1850*, 56.

[13] Rohr, *The Careers of British Musicians, 1750-1850*, 45.

patronage demanded large sums of money and time devoted to an individual. The only benefit that was claimed from such forms of patronage would be the music that was produced and the recognition for being a great supporter of the arts. One of the well-known supporters of the arts in eighteenth-century Britain was the Monarch, King George III. During the reign of George III, patronage took on a different form, which could be seen as the transition between personal or political patronage to political patronage of cultural productions. George III founded the Royal Academy of Arts in an effort to display his power and influence as the *national* patron.[14] George also fostered the "cult of Handel," one of his favorite composers. The production of many concerts in London during his reign included the works of Handel. Though there was a post-war deterioration in the patronage system of Great Britain, it would rebound in a new way with the use of cultural productions as political currency.

The decline in wealth and power of the British aristocracy led to a need of other methods to increase sponsorship and create lasting ties in the House of Lords, and eventually a reaffirmed British identity. Many of these nobles had to use what little wealth they had remaining to sway political power toward their causes. One of the efforts to engage the gentry and other nobility was the use of public displays such as concerts. These concerts were used as displays of power, much like chamber concerts held at a noble's residence in the years previous to the war. The struggling nobility used the little wealth that they had left to create demonstrations of their supremacy, hoping to obtain some sort of political support or acceptance of that power. In this chapter, I will explore the political connections between those who sponsored musical events and those who attended such concerts. As I will show, patronage of music was a method for achieving political consensus in eighteenth-century Great Britain. One of the most influential figures of the British State at the end of the eighteenth century, Lord Francis Godolphin Osborne,

---

[14] Hoock, *Empires of the Imagination*, 17.

fifth Duke of Leeds, commonly known as Carmarthen, (1751-1799), was a nobleman who held influential positions in the British government and needed support to continue his reign.

In Britain, prior to the beginning of the American War of Independence, patronage was the "cement of politics and administration."[15] Historians argue as to how true this is in regards to national versus local politics. According to A.N. Newman, the politics in the country were different from the national political arena. Patrons in the country used cultural productions to influence local politics and to fuel the local rivalries. This did not equate to their dealings on the national scene. Political action in the country was different than at the center, and this meant a call for different means to supporting an individual's political agenda.[16] Patrons used art, music, and literature as means to an end in an effort to support their political goals. Sir Lewis Namier discusses at length the uses of political patronage such as the support a noble would provide to his friends and family to reel them into high offices of the court. This form of patronage was very similar to the cultural patronage as another form of political currency that would continue into the 1790s.[17] Namier concluded that patronage of an individual was more influential than the political parties that took shape in this period. Patronage provided a support structure that held the roles in politics and government from falling. This too can be said of patronage of cultural productions as a means to control the politics of Britain by influencing governance through familial relations and friendships. Patronage of cultural productions as a means of political currency developed from this need to continue patronage and with the movement from local government to government at the Center, a move that began centuries earlier and would continue into the 19th century.

---

[15]Conway, *The British Isles and the War of American Independence*, 204

[16] A.N. Newman, "Elections in Kent and its Parliamentary Representation, 1715-1754" (Oxford D. Phil. Thesis, 1957), 5-10.

[17] Namier, *The Structure of Politics at the Accession of George III.*

In Great Britain the system of patronage of the arts as political currency experienced a shift in the late eighteenth-century. Political currency was the use of music, a form of cultural production, in exchange for political support by the individuals attending the concerts and having the privilege to experience music. The form and reasons for patronages changed as political and cultural trends shifted. Patrons of the arts used music prior to the development of the "public sphere" in Great Britain to emphasize their power and authority.[18] The members of the nobility used music to showcase their grandeur and their distinction from others in society. The consolidation of power in Great Britain and the creation of the "public sphere" led to a shift in the use of music for the nobility's personal display of wealth. Patrons of music began to employ this form of cultural production as a type of currency. Patrons could no longer afford to support the cultural production of music as a display of their wealth, but would utilize it to cultivate political support. This change in the system of patronage changed the cultural production of music to a form of currency for political means.

Francis Godolphin Osborne, the Fifth Duke of Leeds (1751-1799), exemplifies a noble who used public displays such as concerts to showcase his power and to accrue support from attendees. Francis Godolphin Osborne was born on January 29, 1751 to Thomas, fourth Duke of Leeds (1713-1789), a politician, and to Lady Mary Godolphin (d.1764), the daughter of Francis Godolphin, second Earl of Godolphin. From his birth he was styled as "Marquess of Carmarthen" and would hold that title, which he used as his name, until 1789 when he was titled "The Duke of Leeds" upon succeeding his father as the Fifth Duke of Leeds, Marquess of Carmarthen, Earl of Danby, Viscount Latimer of Danby, co. York, Viscount Osborne of Dunblane, Baron Osborne of Kiveton, co. York. He was a very well educated young nobleman, matriculating from Christ Church, Oxford in June of 1767. Following this, he received an M.A.

---

[18] Blanning, *The Culture of Power and the Power of Culture*.

from Oxford in 1769. He continued his education throughout his career, and was created a

D.C.L (Doctorate of Civil Law) on July 7, 1778. For a short time he acted as Chief Justice in

Eyre, North of Trent until he was placed in the House of Commons for the borough of Eve in

Suffolk in March of 1774.[19]

Upon entering the House of Commons in 1774, Leeds immediately became an equal and

leader among his peers. He "was courteous and affable, he mixed with various classes, and was

well acquainted with mankind. If he had any peculiar pride, it was in an acknowledgment that

his family roots were well established in the city of London."[20] The Duke found it very

important to become part of the House and not just the privileged son of a Lord working his way

through politics. During Carmarthen's time in the House of Commons, he showed his passion

for government and his connection to the representation of the people. He believed in the system

of British government and the power of the House and Lords to justly and fairly create law. For

example, on May 2, 1774, he favored the bill for regulating the Government of Massachusetts

Bay. The bill provided more control over the colony, in an effort to nudge the colony back on

track with the laws of Great Britain. According to his account of Parliamentary proceedings,

"The Boston Port Bill had just passed, matters with America were coming to extremity … I had

no scruple in voting Uniformly with them, except on the Petition from the Massachusetts, when I

divided with the minority, as I could by no means approve of the rejecting it unheard."[21] During

his time in the House of Commons, Leeds made connections with very influential individuals

including the Members for Westminster, Lord Stanley (later Lord Derby), and Mr. Welbore

Ellis, and even attracted the notice of His Majesty. These relationships would prove quite

---

[19] George Fisher Russell Barker, "Osborne, Francis (1751-1799)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 42, ed. George M. Smith (Oxford: Smith, Elder &Co., 1888).
[20] Browning, iii.
[21] Browning, 3.

beneficial when Carmarthen would move to the House of Lords and even in his later career when he was presenting his concerts.[22] While in the House, until May 14, 1776, Carmarthen's politics revolved around supporting a national British government, with little tolerance for American grievances or France's position of power with Russia, or for the power of a group of Lords that controlled the House of Lords. He held altering political views, as he was a son of a noblemen who began his career in the House of Commons. In the Commons he gained a taste for what government should be in his opinion, believing "the ministers were the curse of [Britain] and he feared would prove its ruin."[23] With this change he also saw the importance of establishing and maintaining a British identity. This would only happen, according to Leeds, if the Members of Parliament took an active part in the business of the nation.[24] The Duke would conclude his tenure in the House of Commons denying a proposition from Lord North, Prime Minister of Great Britain, to propose Sir Fletcher Norton for Speaker. Carmarthen held a fractious relationship with Lord North and created a more tenuous political connection, as he had previously spoken out and voted against Lord North's conciliatory plan in February 1776. If Leeds was to improve his position in the government and make himself know in the House of Lords he would require some form of support.

In May 1776, Lord Carmarthen was called to the House of Lords, by writ, as Baron Osborne of Kineton for the County of York. From the start of his career in the Lords at only 25 years of age he received appointment to many honored positions, becoming one of the Lords of the King's Bedchamber in 1776, Lord Chamberlain to the Queen in 1777, and a Privy Councilor on December 24, 1777. Throughout his career he would receive many positions in the Royal

---

[22] Browning, 5.

[23] Cobbett, *The Parliamentary History of England,* vol. 31 (London: Printed by T.C. Hansard, 1818), 1339-40, 1341-2, 1346.

[24] Browning, 51.

Court and for the King. These positions often did not hold much importance as Leeds would exclaim "I disliked my commission extremely," but he completed his duties regardless with an eye toward proper government.[25] He advocated changes in government as he saw the need of Parliament to change with the altering of British society. In a letter to both Houses of Parliament, Leeds asked

> Do you not seriously imagine that you may have carried your silent support of Particular Men too far? Have they not abused your confidence? Are not you, yourselves convinced that an earlier change might have been beneficial, or that at least it could not have provided [produced] a more unfortunate Crisis than our present situation displays on every side? The consequence of your persisting will I fear be fatal.[26]

Often he declined many of the positions or commissions because of his rejection of corruption. Leeds was always in support of the rights of government, of both Houses, to meet and produce law and justice. In one instance, Lord North and other Members of Parliament, both gentlemen and noblemen, asked Leeds to support them in preventing the meeting of a committee of gentlemen at York to discuss the necessity of "abolishing useless and exorbitant or unmerited pensions and salarys, and applying the produce to the public service."[27] When Lord North and other nobles petitioned him to stop the meeting from happening, he politely declined, citing it was against the rules of law and justice to stop the meeting. His determination for the right and proper rule of governance continued throughout his career, but he left in his wake a wave of individuals whom he was unable to call upon for political support. To garner others to his side he would have to use cultural productions, which he could also use as a means to promote his ideology of proper governance of the British citizens. He eagerly expressed a concern that the

---

[25] Browning, 13.
[26] Osborne, "A Letter to the Individual Members of both Houses of Parliament," 10-11.
[27] Browning, 18.

British take pride in their culture and the rule of law which was established for the good and for the justice of the land. One form of this display was in music.

One method of helping to create a British identity and to bolster his political desires was the use of music. Leeds provided a series of concerts of antient music. Antient music was representative of British musical compositions that were produced within twenty years of the time they were performed. As Thomas Kelly reveals, "antient music was not music of antiquity but music old enough not to be in the modern repertory…an interesting definition of early music in an age when almost all music was new, and when music rapidly fell out of fashion."[28] This antient music primarily featured the music of Handel, Henry Percell (1659-1695), and Christoph Willibald Ritter von Gluck (1714-1787) who was invited to become house composer at London's King's Theater in 1745. Directors of concerts of antient music believed that these men exemplified what it meant to be British and provided music that many British citizens would support. The form of antient music was usually symphonic or AABA (Sonata) form which was pleasing to the ear and provided a simple musical structure for the audience to follow. The music often consisted of many flourishes and simple tonal changes, with the majority of the music moving in steps up and down a major or minor tonal scale. The music was connected to British identity because it was music that the British had come to identify as their own. There had been very few recent composers of merit in Britain between 1750-1790. To compete with the grandeur of music like that which was being produced on the continent in this time, the British considered the use of music produced in their nation from years past. The British could connect to the music of their past and therefore claim to have a great artistic ability such as that of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Franz Joseph Haydn, and Johann Baptist Vanhal. Composers

---

[28] Thomas Forrest Kelly, *Early Music: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 12.

such as these were influential at the time, but Britain had not produced such composers. Since the continent could claim these artists and would use them as examples of their grandeur, Britain had to look to its past and connect to past composers to create their artistic identity.

Leeds saw this connection and used this music to his benefit, showing that he was a man of government. Leeds supported concerts in which the music of Handel and other British composers was stressed. This creation of a national identity through music of an earlier time would provide a culture and society in which Englishmen could support their government. Political currency was the use of music, a form of cultural production, to provide entertainment with the expected return of political support for the entertainment provided. Leeds used music to support his political agenda and his efforts to claim political positions within the royal court. Leeds believed in the exceptionality of the British and its system of governance. The music he employed was also an effort to have his positions in the House of Lords gain a following. He was expecting the concerts he directed to receive support and to help him connect with his fellow Lords. If other Lords would attend the musical galas, then they might also provide Leeds political support because they were responding to Leeds' display of power and Britishness through this music. Leeds expected and desired political support from his peers when he moved to the House of Lords on May 16, 1776. This trade in cultural productions differed from the private concerts of Lords in the previous thirty years, but was meant to provide the same outcome, a show of wealth and power with the expected return of political support and reverence or respect for music provided.

An example of one such concert is a concert produced on Wednesday, February 5, 1794. This "Concert of Antient Music" was under the direction of His Grace the Duke of Leeds.[29] At

---

[29] "Concerts of Antient Music, under the Patronage of Their Majesties; as Performed at The New Room, King's Tehater, Hay-Market," February 5, 1794, (London: Printed for W. Lee, 1795).

this concert, Leeds provided a two-act performance with the works of Handel being performed. The first major work on the program by Handel was the aria "Gentle airs, melodious strains," from the oratorio *Athalia* (HWV 52) composed in 1733.[30] The music begins with a solo contrabasso entering on an A-Major chord, also the key in which the piece was composed. To follow the contrabasso would be the solo violoncello and piano for four measures until the solo voice enters on lingering C leading to an A on the words "Gentle airs, melodious strains! Call for raptures out of woe."[31] The story of *Athalia* comes from the tale of a Biblical queen who ruled Judea in the 9th century b.c. and the end of her destructive reign over the Jewish people. Though this story has no political significance for Leeds, it was performed because it was a Biblical tale composed to music by Handel. An explanation for Leeds' use of this piece lies in its connection to Christianity and in the importance of good governance by a just and fair leader; in the case of Britain that would be not only the Monarch but also the Parliament. This production was neither solely used for the artistic purpose that it provided or for its importance as a piece that was related to the creation to British identity, but was significant because it corresponded with Leeds' opposition to the Marquis of Lansdown's Motion for Peace with France.

The French Revolution not only provided the springboard for the infusion of democracy into the British system, but also caused great animosity between the two nations. In 1793, Britain declared war on France after the execution of King Louis XVI and a French declaration of war, creating instability on the continent and a fear of the spread of unrest to Britain. The hostility shown to the French ambassador and to British ships by the new National Convention government led to war. The British believed that the French not only threatened English

[30] Cobbett, ed., *The Parliamentary History of England,* vol. 31 (London: Printed by T.C. Hansard, 1818), A.

[31] G.F. Handel, *Athalia* (Leipzig: Stich und Drurk von Breitkopf &Hartel, 1859), 67.

identity, but the British way of life, as the French had petitioned that Britain take advantage of revolutionary benefits.[32] This would create a great stir in the House of Lords as many Members of Parliament wanted to make peace with France and others would desire to maintain British dominance and its strong traditions and identity which French revolutionary ideals threatened.

In the House of Lords on February 17, 1794, the Marquis of Lansdown petitioned the House for peace with France. Lansdown took the view of Mallet du Pan, a French writer, in saying "this country should hold forth a liberal and generous conduct to France, the same sort of generosity which France showed to England, during the civil wars of Henry 3d."[33] His motion was to provide the King reason enough to end the war with France and bring an agreeable settlement to both governments. This was not palatable to all in the House of Lords, and many, including Leeds, would find it distasteful to look for peace with France, as it would only be possible if "some great change in the French system had taken place."[34] The British saw the present system of French government as an abomination that the French were attempting to spread across Europe and take away the dignity of each county's system. According to many the war was a "purely defensive" one and was grounded in that right. The Duke of Leeds went further in addressing Parliament to have "conceived the French system to be a shameful conspiracy against the constitution, the liberties, the laws, and the religion of every established government."[35] Leeds would not be alone in his opinion of the French government; as many influential Lords would vote against the motion to have the bill read at the opening of Parliament. To garner this support in an effort to deny the motion's passage, Leeds utilized the

---

[32] William James, *The Naval History of Great Britain, from the Declaration of War by France in 1793, to the Accession of George IV* (London: Macmillan, 1902), 50-51.

[33] Cobbett, ed., *The Parliamentary History of England,* vol. 31, 1403.

[34] Cobbett, ed., *The Parliamentary History of England,* vol. 31, 1415.

[35] Cobbett, ed., *The Parliamentary History of England,* vol. 31, 1416.

influential sway he had with particular members and his concert cohort, through the performances he presented.[36]

The concert of antient music that was held prior to the meeting of February 17, 1794 would be influential in providing connections between Leeds and other influential political figures who would vote against the motion. In attendance at the concert on 5 February 1794 were the Lords Fitzwilliam, Malden, Uxbridge, Chesterfield, Darnley, and Grey De Wilton. There were also a great majority of other Lords and gentlemen in attendance at the concert, but the most influential were those mentioned.[37] This cohort that Leeds created provided him support in opposing the motion to make peace with France. Lord Fitzwilliam would speak out against the motion claiming that the "French meant to give law to all Europe," in their effort to spread their principles to other nations, therefore dismantling those of the British.[38] Lord Darnley had similar words for the Parliament and expressed the importance of the preservation of the war because it would keep the French from changing the prosperity of British government. This support, though not directly spoken of at the concerts, was support from those who accepted the Duke of Leeds' concert and evening of entertainment. These members who attended the concerts also spoke out in support for Leeds on the issue of denying peace with France. In the end the House of Lords voted 90 against the motion forming the majority. It was a victory for Leeds to see that the French would not have the ability, at least in the present time, to spread their government, laws, and beliefs to England. This is one instance in which Leeds used the motion against peace with France to show what he believed to be British identity as differing from that of Republican France. Leeds would continue to employ cultural productions

---

[36] Cobbett, ed., *The Parliamentary History of England,* vol. 31, 1423-24.

[37] "Concerts of Antient Music, under the Patronage of Their Majesties; as Performed at The New Room, King's Tehater, Hay-Market," February 5, 1794, (London: Printed for W. Lee, 1795).

[38] Cobbett, ed., *The Parliamentary History of England,* vol. 31, 1407.

throughout his career in an effort to garner political support in aid of what he saw as the ideal form of British governance and therefore identity.

Crisis arose again in 1795, when Earl Fitzwilliam was recalled from the Lord-Lieutenant-ship of Ireland. The King and his ministers officially recalled Fitzwilliam from Ireland on 23 February 1795.[39] This recall caused a great stir, for Fitzwilliam believed he had been unjustly removed from his post and would request an inquiry into the matter. The House considered this request with great consequence for it "involved matter of more importance than even the honour or the life of any individual – the probable tranquility of the sister kingdom and of this."[40] The removal of such a favorable Lord Lieutenant would mean instability in Ireland and animosity between Britain and Ireland. Earl Fitzwilliam believed he had been dismissed for removing Beresford, Cook, and Hamilton from office and also for the Catholic Bill which he had approved, providing emancipation to the Catholics of Ireland. According to Fitzwilliam, these were all efforts he had engaged to unite Ireland with Great Britain and thus create a peaceful kingdom, keeping the movements or revolutions from disturbing this relationship.[41] From all reports, Fitzwilliam's recall would have seemed to be an abuse of power on the part of the ministers. This was a disgrace on the part of the government for ministers having departed from their duties for their own "wantonness, or caprice, or any sinister view of their own," was a disgrace on the part of the Members of Parliament.[42] For the Duke of Leeds and many others in the House, this was against what it was to be a British minister of good Christian values. Leeds now saw it as the duty of the House to "institute an inquiry of the nature" of the recall which was

---

[39] E. A. Smith, *Whig Principles and Party Politics: Earl Fitzwilliam and the Whig Party, 1748-1833* (Manchester: Rowman and Littlefield, 1975), 197-199.

[40] Cobbett, ed., *The Parliamentary History of England,* vol. 31 (London: Printed by T.C. Hansard, 1818), 1496.

[41] Cobbett, *The Parliamentary History of England,* 1500. See also; E. A. Smith, *Whig Principles and Party Politics,* 200-202.

[42] Cobbett, ed., *The Parliamentary History of England,* vol. 31, 1497.

unprecedented in nature. This inquiry would be difficult to pass the House as many Lords did

not judge the business of the Lords to be to question the King or his ministers, or to have them

reveal their secrets held as ministers.[43] To reap support from others in Parliament, Leeds used

his connections and provided a concert in exchange for support on the matter of Earl

Fitzwilliam's recall from the Government of Ireland.

On April 15, 1795, The Duke of Leeds directed another concert at The King's Theater,

Haymarket.[44] The first work performed on this program was the Overture to *Samson* by G.F.

Handel. *Samson* was one of Handel's transition pieces. In the 1730s, he began to compose in

English oratorio style, leaving behind the Italian operatic tradition. This composition would still

include some of traditional Operatic elements such as recitatives, arias, duets, and choruses, but

would be in English with English singers, and a more plain and "British" stage setting. Handel

had begun to create music that was truly seen as British, the English Oratorio.[45] The piece opens

on a very simple melody in G-Major, moving by steps around many trills and flourishes in the

violin and coronets. The piece is very regal sounding with emphasis placed on the downbeats of

each measure with the coronets providing entrance music, as it were to introduce nobility. The

piece closes on the G-Major chord, as it opened, with a rousing coronet flourish.[46] These were

all elements that made this music uniquely British. This was also a uniquely British art form that

was being created by Handel. This would be the music that the concert audience would have

experienced the evening of April 15.

---

[43] Cobbett, ed., *The Parliamentary History of England,* vol. 31, 1506-1508.

[44] "Concerts of Antient Music, under the Patronage of Their Majesties; as Performed at The New Room,
King's Tehater, Hay-Market," April 15, 1795, (London: Printed for W. Lee, 1795).

[45] Christophe Tournu and Neil Forsyth, *Milton, Rights, and Liberties* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2007), 379-383.

[46] G.F. Handel, *Samson an Oratorio: The Words taken from Milton,* (London: Printed for I. Walsh,
1743),2-7.

Leeds presented this concert as one displaying the virtue of British music and the importance of establishing that identity through music. This concert anticipated the motion that would follow on May 8, 1795 on the debate of the recall of Earl Fitzwilliam from Ireland. It would be prudent for those who attended this concert to provide the necessary compensation for this political currency, the concert, which they received in mid-April. Those who spoke in favor of the motion were the very same individuals who attended this concert, this would include not only the Duke of Leeds, but Earl Fitzwilliam himself, the Earl of Spencer, Earl Darnley, and the Duke of Norfolk. These individuals would support Leeds in his efforts to see the motion pass. In contrast to his previous successful endeavors to utilize music in the form of payment for support in the House, the motion did not pass with the Majority against the motion being 75.[47] The support that Leeds contracted from the other Lords in the House did not provide the necessary backing that was required to see the motion through, but in the Commons Leeds' efforts did achieve some success. In the Commons, the individuals who held subscription and attended the concert did speak on behalf of the motion and garnered enough support to see it pass. Those supporters included Mr. Milner, Mr. Pitt, and Mr. Adair, whose efforts paved the way to having others elect to see the motion through the Commons.[48] The concert, as utilized by Leeds as political currency to secure support for one of his cohort, was not as successful as some of his other ventures, but did yield some support. The greater victory was Leeds' ability to speak out in the House against the wrongs of corrupt ministers and to express the importance of a British identity as being created by a just and righteous system of government. Handel's works were also part of that identity, in that the pieces performed were creations based on British attitudes and conventions in music. Leeds employed this cultural currency that exemplified a

---

[47] Cobbett, ed., *The Parliamentary History of England,* vol. 31, 1521.
[48] Cobbett, ed., *The Parliamentary History of England,* vol. 31, 1556-1558.

British character in an effort to appeal for aid from individuals in Parliament in efforts to see success for himself and his allies politically.

Britain faced a major crisis in the eighteenth century, a crisis of identity and loss of empire. The British would lose their colonial possessions in North American in the 1770s and would face the threat of the French Revolution in the 1780-1790s. These two events would change the foundation of British society politically, economically, socially, and culturally. The British Parliamentary system of government would be shaken by the American War of Independence and would be influenced by the French Revolution. Following the American War of Independence, the British would suffer great economic losses, and their system of patronage would demand revision. In this period, it has been seen that patronage waned due to the insufficient funds available to the aristocracy to provide these concerts as shows of their power and wealth. Instead, the nobility had to rely on what wealth they had left to provide for public concerts and also make them work as political currency in an effort to get the most out of their cultural support. This music not only provided a national identity for the British, but would also prove instrumental for Leeds.

Music represented British values and displayed, through sound, the importance, eminence, regale-ness, and superiority of British identity in the world. The music provided an understanding of what it was to be a British citizen, but also was useful in obtaining support for Leeds in the House of Lords. Leeds looked to this support by providing these concerts to the public and having subscriptions sent to influential Members of Parliament. The concerts happened throughout the year, but on important occasions, particular concerts supported by Leeds would occur when he was speaking in Parliament or looking for support in both the House and Commons. When these concerts were presented by Leeds, they were attended by influential

Members of Parliament who would then show their thanks to and support for Leeds by providing arguments in his favor in the House of Lords on specific motions. The Duke of Leeds planned these concerts as a form of political currency in which he traded these open performances for political support in Parliament. The motions that he often supported and the music that he had produced were also exploited in an effort to define a British Identity, often in contrast to what it was not. The concerts acted as a form of political currency into the late eighteenth century. Patronage of the arts was not halted by war or by the ending of an era of private patronage, but it continued in a different form and manner than previously, by acting as political currency for the development of a British identity and the cohesion of British governance.

CONCLUSION

The production of concerts of antient music in Britain during the late eighteenth century were planned by Members of the House of Lords to influence and control politics. Francis Godolphin Osborne, the Fifth Duke of Leeds, was one Lord who sought to support concerts of antient music. With his support Leeds looked for political support from those who attended these concerts. The Duke of Leeds expected support during votes in the House of Lords and political positions from the King in return for these concerts that he provided. This thesis explains this used of music as a form of political currency during the eighteenth century to contribute to the study of culture and politics in the eighteenth century. This thesis also provides a connection between the developments in cultural productions and politics during the eighteenth century to explain the desire by many individuals for a national identity created through music. In the case of Britain and the Duke of Leeds, concerts of antient music served as a method to create British identity during a time of great transition in the "long" eighteenth century. The move away from the Whig and Tory system of government and the development of antient music was the beginning of the use of concerts society for political gain. These concerts of antient music served as a means to not only cultivate political support for the benefactors, but also to create a national identity after a shift in the form of culture, politics, and society during the eighteenth century.

The production of culture during the eighteenth century developed and took on a different meaning with the transition in British society around the 1750s. According to historians such as T.C.W Blanning and E.P. Thompson societies existed only because of the cultural productions that were developed, which created political, economic, and social stability. To understand the creation of culture in Britain, this thesis examines the growth of the "public sphere" as an

influential group that could consume the cultural productions of a society. Some of these cultural productions of the eighteenth century included literature and music. During the eighteenth century, literature affected how individuals thought and interacted in society. For the purposes of this thesis, cultural productions prior to the 1750 in Britain are understood as developing through patronage for art for art's sake. Patrons would provide funding to writers, musicians, and other producers of culture to construct great works of art for the patron and their family. In the case of music, patrons would provide money to have musicians compose music, put on concerts, perform, and teach the patron and his family how to read, compose, and perform music. This was important to the aristocracy in Britain; it showed a level of political and social dominance in their community. Both the form of and the use of music as a cultural production transition during the late eighteenth century with the development of a new British identity.

In the 1770s, the use of music and other cultural productions were not only to show wealth and dominance, but were provided to garner political support and create a national identity. The cultural productions of the previous decades were extensive and show the power of the nobility to have the ability to afford such luxuries. This wealth and power diminished after 1750, but faced a steep decline after the American War for Independence, internal rebellion, and war on the continent that included France, Russia, and Spain. Private aristocratic patronage was often not a luxury afforded by many of the nobility with the loss of their wealth after these great struggles. The economic decline faced by many translated into a cultural decline as the production of music and art fell. The aristocracy was unable to fund great artists such as Handel; therefore there were fewer master composers or artists to provide cultural productions. With this turn in the form of patronage, Lords found it more reliable to fund public cultural productions only if it provided them with some benefit. Just as patronage of music shifted, during the 1770's,

there was a growth in the production of political cartoons. Political cartoons had been a creation since the fourteenth century. The political cartoons of the eighteenth century were not only for the display of politics in society, but also were often created at the bequest of a patron for a cartoon against his opposition. These cartoons created feelings of anxiety and opposition to the figures that they depicted. These cartoons were utilized by Members of Parliament in an effort to create a mood of hostility toward the opposition in society. This was one form that patronage of culture took in the eighteenth century after the decline of the aristocracy; another such form was the concerts of antient music. The concerts of antient music, many produced by the Duke of Leeds during the 1770 to 1790's, were efforts to have culture act as currency. The use of music as political currency developed as a way not only to create culture, but also to have it act as a form of currency with the expected return of political support when it came to voting in Parliament or in the distribution of political offices.

The concerts of antient music produced during the later eighteenth century must be understood within the context of musical and political developments of the age. Prior to these concerts Britain had a long history of producing musical pieces. One of the composers of these works was George Frideric Handel. Handel was considered a masterful British composer, creating some the most well-known pieces in the British repertoire in the early eighteenth century. According to some scholars, music can be utilized to elicit feelings and be seen as a good indicator of the age in which it is produced. In the case of Handel, his music was triumphantly British celebrating the greatness of English society. His compositions such as the "Royal Fireworks" was a jubilant expression of British victory in the war for the Austrian succession. Handel was also able to create a wholly new form of oratorio, the English oratorio, which exemplified British values, or what was seen as important musically to the British people.

The works produced by Handel and other composers also developed a new form of concert arena. Prior to the 1750s, most music was heard in the palaces and homes of the aristocracy or in taverns and at fairs. There was no place for the production and performance of concerts of music. Further, music was often a form of background noise to accompany an event. After Handel and the development of large-scale works such as the oratorio, there developed concert halls designed to house concerts of music for the enjoyment of listening. This type of music creation declined after the death of Handel, along with patronage of the arts and musicians. This would also prompt a decline in the creation of a British identity.

During the 1780s and 1790s, Francis Osborne, fifth Duke of Leeds, helped to resurrect this form of music in the concerts of antient music. Leeds did not produce these concerts just for the sake of music, but instead used the concerts as efforts to barter for votes in Parliament and to help create a British identity, something lacking in the later eighteenth century. The concerts of antient music in this period pulled from the works of Handel, Corelli, and other Baroque masters because the music that they had created exemplified British qualities. These concerts were produced around the time of large scale political debates in Parliament and often held a connection with the topic of debate. When Leeds produced a concert of antient music with pieces from *Athalia,* the story of the Biblical queen who ruled Judea and her destruction of the Jewish people, the topic in Parliament was that of royal mismanagement and the importance of a balanced government. This performance in 1794 followed the Marquis of Lansdown's Motion for Peace with France. The connection between the Handel piece produced at the concert of antient music and the Motion for Peace dealt with the importance of good governance. Leeds was a believer in fair and just governance as it was established for the British people. His concert was not only used to ask for support from those in attendance during the vote in the

House of Lords the following week, but also to showcase the work of Handel as exemplifying what it meant to be British. One of the goals of Leeds through the production of these concerts of antient music was to provide the people with a reminder of the culture and identity and to foster the creation of a new identity around a lost identity. This creation all had to take place in the complex and changing arena of politics during the latter eighteenth century.

To understand the use of culture in politics in the eighteenth century, the development of politics and governance in Britain is important to the progression of cultural productions a political currency. The definition of the "long" eighteenth century is helpful to this understanding because it sets the stage for the transitions in government during the 1770s to 1790s. The "long" eighteenth century could be seen as the period from 1688, after the Glorious Revolution, to 1832, the year of the first Reform Act. After 1688, Parliament was split by two predominant groups, the Whigs and the Tories. This created tension not only in politics, but also in society, for only one group could be dominant in Parliament at any one time. This political instability caused great disagreements in government; most tension was found between groups in the House of Commons. Until recently, historians often failed to look at the House of Lords during these years of conflict. Focusing on the Duke of Leeds and his concerts of antient music, a clear image of the House of Lords in this conflict is drawn. Many members of the House of Lords followed in the direction of the Duke of Leeds, looking to separate from the two dominant parties and to be Independent Members of Parliament with no allegiance, only support for those they represented and for good governance of the land. Leeds believed that the virtuous governance of the land could be achieved only if a British identity developed. One use of the concerts of antient music for Leeds was to recreate this British identity; the other was to garner political support for the positions he found important to the wholesome governance of the land.

Finally, the case study of the Duke of Leeds and his use of concerts of antient music shows how cultural productions become a form of political currency, not only to barter for voting support in Parliament, but also to help create a national identity, which would also benefit the national government. In the 1770s-1790s, Francis Godolphin Osborne, the fifth Duke of Leeds, produced concerts of antient music. All of his concerts took place around important debates in the House of Lords during which he provided arguments. Leeds concerts were all attended by members who would vote in favor of his positions during the debates in the House of Lords. Thus, these concerts acted as a type of currency. Leeds' provided entertainment with the expected outcome that the beneficiaries of the concerts would support his position on particular debate in the Lords. This contributes to the understanding of the development of politics in society. The importance of cultural productions to the continued stability of government is also displayed. The case of the Duke of Leeds exemplifies these distinctions during the eighteenth century. The use of culture for identity creation is also examined through the case of the Duke of Leeds. Leeds was an avid support of the cultivation of a British identity, as it was important to the development of society and the strength of government. The case of Leeds provides a window through which to study the development of culture as political currency and a form of identity.

The resurrection of the music of Handel offered Leeds the opportunity to create a series of concerts of antient music both for political support and for the creation of a British identity. This development is only significant to the overall historical understanding of culture and politics if it seen in the context of the musical and political developments of the eighteenth century. Following the development of music during the eighteenth century with a particular focus on the decline of music in the mid-eighteenth century and the development of Parliament

and politics in the eighteenth century following the creation of a two-party system provides an understanding for why culture was exploited to influence politics. The case of the Duke of Leeds exemplifies the use of music as political currency seen through his efforts to produce concerts of antient music. Parliamentary records, the personal writings and correspondence of Leeds, and concert programs all shed light onto how and why a patron of the arts would increase his political support and foster the creation of an identity through the use of music. This thesis displays the connection between patrons of the arts and their use of culture as political currency, with the case of Francis Godolphin Osborne, Fifth Duke of Leeds, providing the evidence for such a use of culture. The use of music as political currency and a force for identity creation is represented during the later eighteenth century as a means to barter for political support in Parliament and to create a national identity that had been lost. Leeds utilized music that was once seen as the epitome of British culture in an effort to influence Members of Parliament to support his positions. The use of music by politicians in the 1790s was not yet prominent in British culture as elsewhere, but it did contribute to the importance of culture in politics and society as helping to solidify a nation and the personal goals of an individual for that nation. My work began with the curiosity of how and why patrons of the arts developed culture as a form of political currency and developed into an understanding of the affect music and culture had on society. The hope for this type of study is that future research will continue to explore the use of cultural productions as political currency in different periods of time in order to understand the development and uses of culture in politics on a grander scale in a symbiotic relationship and not as separate entities.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Newspapers

The Craftsman

Primary Sources

Arnall, William. *The Case of Opposition Stated, Between the Craftsman and the People.* London: Printed for J. Roberts, near the Oxford-Arms in Warwick-Lane, 1731.

Browning, Oscar, ed. *The Political Memoranda of Francis Fifth Duke of Leeds. Now First Printed From the Originals in the British Museum.* London: The Camden Society, 1884.

Cobbett, William, ed. *The Parliamentary History of England, from the earliest period to the year 1803: from which Last-Mentioned Epoch it is continued downwards in the work entitled, "Hansard's Parliamentary debate."* London: Printed by T.C. Hansard, 1818.

"Concerts of Antient Music, under the Patronage of Their Majesties; as Performed at The New Room, Tottenham Street." February 8, 1972. London: Printed for W. Lee, 1792.

"Concerts of Antient Music, under the Direction of His Grace the Duke of Leeds." February 5, 1794. London: Printed for W. Lee, 1794.

"Concerts of Antient Music, under the Patronage of Their Majesties; as Performed at The New Room, King's Tehater, Hay-Market." February 5, 1794. London: Printed for W. Lee, 1795.

"Concerts of Antient Music, under the Patronage of Their Majesties; as Performed at The New Room, King's Tehater, Hay-Market." April 15, 1795. London: Printed for W. Lee, 1795.

Corp Author: King's Theater (Haymarket, London, England). *Under the patronage of Their Majesties, and under the direction of His Grace the Duke of Leeds ... At the Great Room, King's Theatre, on Friday, March 30, 1798, will be performed a grand concert, by the band of the Concert of antient music, in aid of the voluntary contributions for the defence of the country.* London, 1798.

Corp Author: Royal Society of Musicians (Great Britain). *Under the patronage and by command of Their Majesties. and under the direction of The Earl of Chesterfield, the Earl of Uxbridge, Lord Viscount Fitzwilliam, and Lord Grey De Wilton Under the patronage and by command of Their Majesties. and under the direction of The Earl of Chesterfield, the Earl of Uxbridge, Lord Viscount Fitzwilliam, and Lord Grey De Wilton.* London: s.n., 1799.

Dennis, John. *Gibralter: or , The Spanish Adventure.* London, printed for William Turner, 1705.

Defoe, Daniel. *A Tour Thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain. Divided into Circuits of Journies.* 6th edition. London: D. Browne, 1761.

Du Bos, Jean-Baptiste. *Reflecxions Critiques Sur La Poesie et sur La Peinture.* Paris: Chex Pierre-Jean Mariette, rue S. Jacquos., 1719.

Eliot, Arthur Turberville. *The Book Named The Governour.* London: T.Marsh, 1557.

Handel, G.F. *Athalia.* Leipzig: Stich und Drurk von Breitkopf &Hartel, 1859.

Handel, G.F. *Firework-Music.* Edited by Friedrich Chrysander. Leipzig: Deutsche Handelgesellschaft, 1886.

Handel, G.F. *L'Allegro, il Pensieroso, ed il Moderato.* Edited by Friedrich Chrysander. Leipig: Stich und Druck von Breitkopf & Hartel, 1859.

Handel, G.F. *Samson an Oratorio: The Words taken from Milton.* London: Printed for I. Walsh, 1743.

Handel, G.F. *Teseo.* Edited by Friedrich Chrysander. Leipzig: Stich und Druck von Breitkopf & Hartel, 1874.

Holland, Henry Edward. *Memories of the Whig Party during My Life Time.* Vol. 2, 1852. London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Logmans, 1854.

James, William. *The Naval History of Great Britain, from the declaration of war by France in 1793, to the accession of George IV.* London: Macmillan, 1902.

Osborne, Francis. "A Letter to the Individual Members of both Houses of Parliament." London: Printed for R. Faulder, New Bond-Street, 1782.

Rosignol, Signior. *By desire of several ladies and gentlemen. Positively the last night of performing.* Cambridge : F. Hodson, printer, 1797.

Reeve, William, Corp Author: Lyceum Theatre (Westminster, London, England). *By authority of the Lord chamberlain, Lyceum, Strand.* London: Printed by E. Spragg, No. 4, Great Wild-Street, Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, 1794.

[Steele, Richard?]. *The Prosperity of Britain Proved from the Degeneracy of its People: A Letter to the Rev. Dr. Brown, on His Estimate of Manners. With Some Thoughts on his Answerer in the Real Character.* London: Printed for R. Baldwin, in Pater-noster-Row, 1757.

Secondary Sources

Abraham, Gerald, ed. *Concert Music (1630-1750)*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986.

Albers, Jan. "'Papist Traitors' and 'Presbyterian Rouges': Religious Identities in Eighteenth-Century Lancashire." In *The Church of England c. 1689-c.1833*, edited by John Walsh, Colin Haydon, and Stephen Taylor,317-331. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.

Ashton, T.S. *Economic Fluctuations in England, 1700-1800*. London: 1959.

Attali, Jacques. *Noise: The Political Economy of Music*. Translated by Brian Massumi. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1985.

Baker, George Fisher Russell. "Osborne, Francis (1751-1799)." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Vol. 42, ed. George M. Smith. Oxford: Smith, Elder &Co., 1888.

Barlow, Andrew. *The Prince and his Pleasures: Satirical Image of George IV and his Circle*. Brighton: Trichrom Ltd., 1997.

Berg, Temma F. *The Lives and Letters of an Eighteenth-century Circle of Acquaintance*. Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2006.

Bermingham, Ann. *The Consumption of Culture 1600-1800; Image, Object, Text*. London: Routledge, 1995.

Blaning, T.C.W. *The Culture of Power and the Power of Culture: Old Regime Europe 1660-1789*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Boyer, Allen D. ed. *Law, Liberty, and Parliament: Selected Essays on the Writings of Sir Edward Coke*. Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2004.

Braddick, Michael J. *State Formation in Early Modern England, c. 1550-1700*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Brewer, John. *The Common People and Politics 1750-1790s*. Cambridge: Chadwyck-Healey, 1986.

Brewer, John. *Party Ideology and Popular Politics at the Accession of George III*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976.

————. *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997.

————. *The Sinews of Power: War, Money, and the English State, 1688-1783*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990

Brunner, Otto. *Land and Lordship: Structures of Governance in Medieval Austria.* Translated by Howard Kaminsky and James Van Horn Melton. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992.

Bucholz, R. O., Newton Key. *Early Modern England 1485-1714: A Narrative History.* 2nd ed. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009.

Burchell, Jenny. *Polite or Commercial Concerts?: Concert Management and Orchestral Repertoire in Edinburgh, Bath, Oxford, Manchester, and Newcastle, 1730-1799.* New York: Garland Publishing, 1996.

Buterfield, Herbert. *The Whig Interpretation of History.* New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1965.

Cannadine, David. *Aspects of Aristocracy: Grandeur and Decline in Modern Britain.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994.

————. *The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy.* London: Yale University Press, 1990.

Cannon, John. *Aristocratic Century: The Peerage of Eighteenth-Century England.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.

————. "The Nobility Ascendant: The Hanoverian Settlement: 1714-1832." In *The House of Lords: A Thousand Years of British Tradition*, edited by Smith's Peerage Limited, 98-108. London: Smith's Peerage, 1994.

Carse, Adam von Ahn. *The Orchestra in the Eighteenth Century.* Cambridge: W.Heffer, 1940.

Carter, Tim, and John Butt. *The Cambridge History of Seventeenth-Century Music.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Clark, J.C.D. *English Society 1688-1832: Ideology, Social Structure and Political Practice during the Ancien Regime.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.

————. *Revolution and Rebellion: State and Society in England in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.

Clark, Samuel. *State and Status: The Rise of the State and Aristocratic Power in Western Europe.* Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995.

Cogswell, Thomas, Richard Cust, Peter Lake, and Conrad Russell. *Politics, Religion, and Popularity in Early Stuart Britain: Essays in Honour of Conrad Russell.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Colley, Linda. *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837*. London: Yale University Press, 1992.

————. "The Politics of Eighteenth-Century British History." *Journal of British Studies* 25, no. 4 (October, 1986): 359-379.

————. *In Defiance of Oligarchy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982.

————. "Whose Nation? Class and National Consciousness in Britain 1750-1830." *Past & Present*, No. 113 (November, 1986): 97-117.

Collinson, Patrick, Anthony Fletcher, and Peter Roberts. *Religion, Culture, and Society in Early Modern Britain: Essays in Honour of Patrick Collinson*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

Cone, Carl B. *The English Jacobins Reformers in Late 18ᵗʰ Century England*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1968.

Connell, Philip. *Romanticism, Economics, and the Question of 'Culture.'* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.

Conway, Stephen. *The British Isles and the War of American Independence*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Cressy, David. *Literacy and the Social Order: Reading and Writing in Tudor and Stuart England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980.

Cruickshanks, Eveline, Stuart Handley, and David Hayton, eds. *The History of Parliament. The House of Commons 1690-1715*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Danchin, Pierre. "The Foundation of the Royal Academy of Music in 1674 and Pierre Perrin's Ariane." *Theater Survey* 25, (1984): 55-67.

Dean, D.M. and N.L. Jones. eds. *The Parliaments of Elizabethan England*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990.

De Krey, Gary Stuart. *A Fractured Society: The Politics of London in the First Age of Party*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985.

Defoe, Daniel. *A Tour Through the Whole Island of Great Britain*. Edited by Pat Rogers. New York: Viking Penguin, 1989.

Derry, John W. *The Regency Crisis and the Whigs, 1788-9*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963.

Diamond, Elin, ed. *Performance and Cultural Politics*. New York: Routledge, 1996.

Dickinson, H.T. *Bolingbroke.* London: Constable, 1970.

Doepke, Matthias, and Fabrizio Zilibotti. "Social Class and the Spirit of Capitalism." *Journal of the European Economic Association* 3, no. 2/3 (April, 2005): 519.

Ehrlich, Cyril. *The Music Profession in Britain since the Eighteenth Century: A Social History.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985.

Fine, Elizabeth C., and Jean Haskell Speer, ed. *Performance, Culture, and Identity.* Westport: Praeger Publishers, 1992.

Fiske, Roger. *English Theater Music in the Eighteenth Century.* London: Oxford University Press, 1973.

Fletcher, Anthony, and John Stevenson. *Order and Disorder in Early Modern England.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.

Fletcher, Anthony. *Reform in the Provinces: The Government of Stuart England.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986.

Fletcher, Anthony, and Peter Roberts, eds. *Religion, Culture and Society in Early Modern Britain.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

Flint, Christopher. "The Eighteenth-Century Novel and Print Culture: A Prospsed Modesty," in *A Companion to the Eighteenth-Century Novel and Culture.* Edited by Paula R. Backscheider and Catherine Ingrassia. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009.

Ford, Archibald S. *His Majesty's Opposition, 1714-1830.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964.

Forsyth, Michael. *Buildings for Music: The Architect, the Musician, and the Listener from the Seventeenth Century to the Present Day.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.

Fulcher, Jane F. *French Cultural Politics and Music: From Dreyfus the Affair to the First World War.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Goldie, Mark and Robert Wokler, eds. *The Cambridge History of Eighteenth-Century Political Thought.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

Habermas, Jurgen. *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society.* Translated by Thomas Burger. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.

Harris, Bob. "The London Evening Post and Mid-Eighteenth-Century British Politics." *The English Historical Review* 110, no. 439 (November, 1995):1132-1156.

Harris, Bob, and Jeremy Black. "John Tucker, M.P., and Mid-Eighteenth-Century British Politics." *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies* 29, no. 1 (Spring, 1997): 15-38.

Haslam, Fiona. *From Hogarth to Rowlandson: Medicine in Art in Eighteenth-Century Britain.* Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1996.

Hayton, David, Eveline Cruickshanks, and Stuart Handley, eds. *The House of Commons, 1690-1715.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Herissone, Rebecca, Alan Howard, eds. *Concepts of Creativity in Seventeenth-Century England.* Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2013.

Hess, Herman. *The Glass Bead Game: A Novel.* Translated by Rinehart Hold. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1969.

Hobsbawm, E.J. *The Age of Revolution, 1789-1848.* New York: The World Publishing Company, 1962.

Hogan, Charles Beecher. *The London Stage, 1776-1800.* London: Feffer & Simons, 1968.

Hogwood, Christopher, and Richard Luckett, eds. *Music in Eighteenth-Century England: Essays in Memory of Charles Cudworth.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.

Holmes, Geoffrey. *British Politics in the Age of Anne.* London: Hambledon Press, 1987.

Hoock, Holger. *Empires of the Imagination: Politics, War, and the Arts in the British World, 1750-1850.* London: Profile Books, 2010.

Hoppit, Julian, ed. *Parliaments, Nations and Identities in Britain and Ireland, 1660-1850.* Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003.

Jordan, Sarah. *The Anxieties of Idleness: Idleness in Eighteenth-Century British Literature and Culture.* Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2003.

Jones, Clyve, ed. *Party and Management in Parliament, 1660-1784.* Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1984.

Jones, David Wyn, ed. *Music in Eighteenth-Century Britain.* Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000.

Kaufmann, Thomas DaCosta. *Court, Cloister & City: The Art and Culture of Central Europe 1450-1800.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1995.

Kelly, Thomas Forrest. *Early Music: A Very Short Introduction.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.

Kershaw, Baz. *The Politics of Performance: Radical Theatre as Cultural Intervention.* New York: Routledge, 1992.

Kenny, Shirley. *British Theatre and the other Arts, 1660-1800.* London: Associated University Presses, 1984.

Kishlansky, Mark A. *Parliamentary Selection: Social and Political Choice in Early Modern England.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.

Landon, H.C. Robbins, ed. *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Music: A Tribute to Karl Geiringer on his Seventieth Birthday.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970.

Le Huray, Peter, and James Day, eds. *Music and Aesthetics in the Eighteenth and Early-Nineteenth Centuries.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.

Leppert, Richard. *Music and Image: Domesticity, Ideology and Socio-Cultural Formation in Eighteenth-Century England.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.

Mann, Michael. *The Sources of Social Power.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

Marshall, P.J. *The Oxford History of the British Empire: Volume II: The Eighteenth Century.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.

Massie, Allan. *The Royal Stuarts: A History of the Family that Shaped Britain.* New York: Thomas Dunne Books, 2011.

McCusker, John J., and Russell R. Menard. *The Economy of British America, 1607-1789.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985.

McGeary, Thomas. *The Politics of Opera in Handel's Britain.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

McKendrick, Neil, John Brewer, and J.H. Plumb. *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England.* London: Europa Publications, 1982.

McVeigh, Simon. *Concert Life in London from Mozart to Haydn.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.

Melendez, Mariselle. *Deviant and Useful Citizens: The Culture Production of the Female Body in Eighteenth-Century Peru.* Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2011.

Miller, John. *Religion in the Popular Prints, 1600-1832.* Cambridge: Chadwyck-Healey, 1986.

Monod, Paul. "The Politics of Handel's Early London Operas, 1711-1718." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 36, (2006): 445-472.

Morrell, Jack. *Science, Culture, and Politics in Britain, 1750-1870.* Great Britain: Aldershot, 1997.

Namier, Lewis. *England in the Age of the American Revolution.* 2nd ed. London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd., 1961.

————. *The Structure of Politics at the Accession of George III.* New York: St. Martin's Press, 1957.

Newman, A.N. "Elections in Kent and its Parliamentary Representation, 1715-1754." Oxford D. Phil. Thesis, 1957.

O'Gorman, Frank. *Voters, Patrons, and Parties: The Unreformed Electoral System of Hanoverian England 1734-1832.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989.

Parker, Mary Ann, ed. *Eighteenth-Century Music in Theory and Practice: Essays in Honor of Alfred Mann.* Stuyvesant: Pendragon Press, 1994.

Plumb, J.H. *The Growth of Political Stability in England, 1675-1725.* London: Macmillan, 1967.

Price, David. *Patrons and Musicians of the English Renaissance.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

Pocock, J G A. *Politics, Language, and Time: Essays On Political Thought and History.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989.

————. "Radical Criticisms of the Whig Order in the Age between Revolutions." In *The Origins of Anglo-American Radicalism,* edited by Margaret Jacob and James Jacob, 35-57. Atlantic Highlands: Humanities Press International, 1991.

Porter, Roy. *English Society in the Eighteenth Century.* London: Penguin Books, 1990.

Reid, Christopher. *Imprison'd Wranglers: The Rhetorical Culture of the House of Commons, 1760-1800.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.

Robbins, Caroline. *The Eighteenth-Century Commonwealthman: Studies in the Transmission, Development, and Circumstance of English Liberal Thought from the Restoration of Charles II Until the War with the Thirteen Colonies.* Indianapolis, Ind.: Liberty Fund, 2004.

Rohr, Deborah Adams. *The Careers and Social Status of British Musicians, 1750-1850: A Profession of Artisans.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

Schafer, R. Murray. *The Soundscape: Our Sonic Environment and the Turning of the World.* Rochester: Destiny Books, 1994.

Scott, Hugh A. "London Concerts from 1700 to 1750." *Musical Quarterly* 24 (1983): 194-209.

Sharpe, J.A. *Early Modern England: A Social History 1550-1760.* London: St. Martin's Press, 1987.

Sharpe, Kevin, and Peter Lake. *Culture and Politics in Early Stuart England.* Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993.

Siskin, Clifford. *The Work of Writing: Literature and Social Change in Britain, 1700-1830.* Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1999.

Smith, E. A. *Whig Principles and Party Politics: Earl Fitzwilliam and the Whig Party, 1748-1833.* Manchester: Rowman and Littlefield, 1975.

Smith, Ruth. *Handel's Oratorios and Eighteenth-Century Thought.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Smither, Howard E. *A History of the Oratorio.* Vol. 2, *The Oratorio in the Baroque Era Protestant Germany and England.* Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1977.

Sommers, Susan. *Parliamentary Politics of A County and Its Town: General Elections in Suffolk and Ipswich in the Eighteenth Century.* Westport: Praeger, 2002.

Speck, W.A. *The Divided Society: Parties and Politics in England 1694-1716.* London: St. Martin's Press, 1967.

Speck, W.A. *Stability and Strife: England, 1714-1760.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1977.

Spufford, Margaret. *Small Books and Pleasant Histories: Popular Fiction and Its Readership in Seventeenth-Century England.* Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1982.

Thompson, E.P. *The Making of the English Working Class.* New York: Vintage Books, 1963.

Tilmouth, Michael. "A Calendar of References to Music in Newspapers Published in London and the Provinces (1660-1791)." *Royal Musical Association Research Chronical*, 1 (1961):1-107.

Tournu, Christophe, and Neil Forsyth. *Milton, Rights, and Liberties.* Bern: Peter Lang, 2007.

Wahrman, Dror. *The Making of the Modern Self: Identity and Culture in Eighteenth-Century England.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007.

Weber, William. *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth-Century England: A Study in Canon, Ritual & Ideology.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992.

Weston, Corinne Comstock. *English Constitutional Theory and the House of Lords 1556-1832.* Routledge, 2011.

Williams, Basil. *The Whig Supremacy, 1714-1760.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962.

Wollenberg, Susan, and Simon McVeigh, eds. *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain.* Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004.

Wood, Kirsten E. "'Join with Heart and Soul and Voice': Music, Harmony, and Politics in the Early American Republic." *American Historical Review* 119, no. 4 (October, 2014): 1083-1085.